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## POLYBIUS, PHILINUS, AND THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

POLYBIUS' sources for his account of the First Punic War are not in question. It is agreed that Fabius Pictor and Philinus of Agrigentum, whom he criticizes didactically in i. 14-15, were his sole authorities. But, as Gelzer has most recently pointed out,<sup>1</sup> difficulties soon appear when one begins to assign the various sections of the narrative to one or other of Polybius' predecessors. This task has frequently been attempted, and a good deal of common ground has been won. It is not my purpose in this paper to go over that ground again. What I propose to do is, first, to discuss the most recent article on Philinus of Agrigentum, which is in my opinion based on false principles and comes to novel, but wrong, conclusions; this done I shall try to relate what can be discovered with certainty about the character of Philinus' work to the general body of Hellenistic historical writing and historical theory. I hope that such a study may help to throw light on one part of Polybius' direct literary inheritance.

### I

It is no longer necessary to-day to emphasize the importance of Gelzer's work<sup>2</sup> on Fabius Pictor and the beginnings of historical writing at Rome. In general Gelzer's theory<sup>3</sup> was too extreme to be accepted in its entirety; but he showed conclusively that Fabius' history was composed with the definite purpose of publicizing the Senate's political programme, its *πολιτικός*, in the civilized world of Greece, which was now coming into contact with Roman policy and Roman methods.<sup>4</sup>

In his earlier article (1933) Gelzer applied his conception of Fabius' purpose and method to isolate those passages in Polybius' version of the First Punic War which could be attributed to the Roman senator. His work demonstrated the necessity of revising the view that Polybius' account was a mechanically constructed patchwork of easily separable material from Philinus and Fabius.<sup>5</sup> For one thing, Fabius himself probably employed Philinus as a source;<sup>6</sup> and in any case Polybius' narrative often contains Punic and Roman traditions in close relation within a single chapter.

I stress this interweaving of the two strands in our tradition not because it is in any sense a new point but because it is implicitly contradicted by the latest study on Philinus, Prof. Richard Laqueur's article in P-W,<sup>7</sup> published in 1938. Laqueur has

*Note.* This paper was read on 26 May 1944 at a Joint Meeting of the Oxford Philological Society and the Oxford Branch of the Classical Association. I take this opportunity of thanking those who there or elsewhere have made critical suggestions, and in particular Drs. F. Jacoby, A. Momigliano, and P. Treves.

<sup>1</sup> On Polybius' sources for the First Punic War (i. 6-64) see J. Luterbacher, *Philol.* lxvi, 1907, 396-426; F. Reuss, *Philol.* lx, 1901, 102-48; *Philol.* lxxviii, 1909, 410-27; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, iii, 1 (1916), 224-47 (with references to earlier literature); L. Sisto, *Atene e Roma*, xii, 1931, 176 ff.; and M. Gelzer, *Hermes*, lxxviii, 1933, 133-42.

<sup>2</sup> M. Gelzer, *Hermes*, lxxviii, 1933, 129-66: 'Römische Politik bei Fabius Pictor'; *Hermes*, lxxix, 1934, 46-55: 'Der Anfang römischer Geschichtsschreibung.' Gelzer's picture of Fabius was to some extent anticipated in Leo, *Gesch.*

*der röm. Literatur*, i, 85 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below, Addendum, pp. 15 ff., for a general criticism of Gelzer's theory.

<sup>4</sup> The older view of Fabius as an annalist pure and simple had been supported by Mommsen's view (*Römische Forschungen*, ii, 272 ff.) that he was the source of Diodorus' annalistic notices (most conveniently consulted in *Diodors römische Annalen bis 302 a. Chr. samt dem Ineditum Vaticanum* herausgegeben von A. B. Drachmann (Kleine Texte, Bonn, 1912)). But this theory has frequently been exploded. Cf. A. Klotz, *Rhein. Mus.* lxxxvi, 1937, 206-24, developing a view previously expressed by Ed. Meyer.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jacoby in *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, Commentary on 174, p. 598; *contra* Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iv, 2, 11.

<sup>6</sup> This is generally accepted; see authorities quoted by Gelzer, *Hermes*, lxxviii, 1933, 133, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> R. Laqueur, P-W (1938), s.v. 'Philinos (8)', cols. 2180-93.

bility that Diodorus may have had access to Philinus only through an intermediate source (as Beloch argued),<sup>1</sup> in which case this source *may* have omitted the Mercenary War; Polybius, using Philinus direct, would get his account of that war from him, whereas Diodorus would be thrown back on Polybius.<sup>2</sup> However, this is pure hypothesis; there is no strong argument for the view that Diodorus used an intermediary, and I raise the point merely to show the impossibility of certainty in the matter.

Various scholars have suggested that our tradition for the early years and rise to power of Hiero II of Syracuse owes something to Philinus. These years are sketched by Polybius in i. 8. 2-9. 8, and also by Diodorus in xxii. 13, two passages which diverge considerably from each other, but without containing any actual contradictions. The usual (and most probable) view, as expressed for instance by Meltzer and Beloch,<sup>3</sup> is that both accounts are derived from Timaeus. It has, however, been argued that the differences between them are so great as to postulate different sources; accordingly Reuss suggested that Philinus is the source of the version in Diodorus, and Laqueur that he is the source of that in Polybius.<sup>4</sup> The problem is not one into which we can enter here. Both views imply that Philinus wrote something more than a monograph on the First Punic War; but both assume and do not prove this point.<sup>5</sup>

Again, in a Zürich dissertation of 1935<sup>6</sup> Margrit Kunz has suggested that Philinus is the authority for a short passage in Diodorus, xiii. 90, dealing with the fate of the famous bull of Phalaris. This passage is of some interest and I hope to deal with it elsewhere; but Fr. Kunz was unfortunate in linking it with the name of Philinus, for it contains a reference to historical details subsequent to the fall of Carthage in 146, a century after the First Punic War, with which Philinus is generally assumed to be contemporary.<sup>7</sup>

The only safe conclusion is, therefore, that Philinus *probably* wrote a monograph on the First Punic War, since we know of him as an authority on that war, whereas

<sup>1</sup> Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 2. 12; Wendling, *Hermes*, xxviii, 1893, 335 ff., also assumes an intermediate source, later than Poseidonius, between Philinus and Diodorus; *contra* Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.* ii D, p. 598, line 40.

<sup>2</sup> On the whole, Polybius' source for the Mercenary War seems to be rather more hostile towards Hanno, and more uncritically pro-Barcine than Philinus. Contrast the picture of Hanno in Polyb. i. 72. 3 with the favourable account of his humane treatment of Hecatompylos in Diod. xxiv. 10. 1-2 (cf. the vagueness of Polyb. i. 73. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager*, ii. 550-1; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 2. 10-11; cf. De Sanctis, *op. cit.* iii. 1. 95, n. 11; S. von Stauffenberg, *König Hieron der Zweite*, 19, 93. Beloch points out that Philinus would hardly have been so favourably disposed towards Hiero, who had deserted the Carthaginians; and also that Polybius' account corresponds very closely with that in Justinus, who summarized Trogus, who in turn used Timaeus. Schwartz, P-W, s.v. 'Diodoros (38)', col. 688 claims that it is impossible to determine Diodorus' source in book xxii.

<sup>4</sup> F. Reuss, *Philol.* lxxviii, 1909, 412; Laqueur, *op. cit.*, cols. 2181-2. Laqueur makes Timaeus the source of Diodorus, xxii, 13, whereas in 1936 (cf. P-W, s.v. 'Timaios (3)', col. 108) he was

doubtful whether Timaeus went beyond 272, and did not carry his analysis of Diodorus past book xx.

<sup>5</sup> Laqueur shows that Polybius' use of *βάρβαρος* to describe the Mamertini in i. 9 may not be used (as De Sanctis claims, *op. cit.* ii. 1. 225) to prove that Timaeus was here the source, since the word occurs too in ii. 7, which cannot derive from Timaeus. Equally, however, this use cannot be taken as proof that Philinus was the source of i. 9, since more than one Greek historian may have called the Mamertini barbarians, or indeed Polybius may have repeated the word in i. 11 after using it twice (following Timaeus) in i. 9. Only a very rigid view of Polybius' relation to his sources would deny the possibility of his having used a word which was not in his immediate source, but which he had himself employed two chapters earlier. Hence the verdict must be *non liquet*.

<sup>6</sup> Margrit Kunz, *Zur Beurteilung der Prooemien in Diodors historischer Bibliothek*, Diss. Zürich, 1935, 13-14.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. De Sanctis, *op. cit.* iii. 1. 224. This view is based on the character of Diodorus' description of the siege of Agrigentum (xxiii. 8) and of the expedition of Regulus (xxiii. 17), and on the general character of the tradition: it seems likely.

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he cannot actually be shown to have written on anything else. This conclusion, tentative as it is (and must be, since it rests on an *argumentum ex silentio*), on the whole supports the view that references in Polybius to 'years of the war' will be derived from Philinus rather than Fabius. There are in fact only two such references and their context is such as not to contradict this general conclusion.

In 41. 4 Polybius describes the setting out of the consuls for Sicily in 250, and adds: 'This was in the fourteenth year of the war.' In 56. 2 the ravaging of the Italian coast by Hamilcar Barca (his first active measure against the enemy after arriving in Sicily in 247) is dated parenthetically to the eighteenth year of the war. It is of course evident that the outset of Hamilcar's campaign had a significance for his admirer, Philinus, which it did not possess for Fabius. On the other hand, the date of the resumption of the Roman naval policy (not, by the way, the start of the siege of Lilybaeum, to which De Sanctis and Beloch both refer the dating)<sup>1</sup> is in itself an event which must have interested either the Roman or the Sicilian historian, or indeed anyone writing an intelligent history of this largely naval war. Thus references to 'years of the war' may be from Philinus; but there can be no automatic certainty in the matter. Indeed the main result of a close analysis must be to show the very tenuous basis of the criteria—'consul years' and 'years of the war'—which Laqueur has tried to set up mechanically as a short cut in the process of separating the two strands in Polybius' narrative. The only safe method is the painstaking assessment of each passage from the point of view of the known methods, style, and purpose of the sources in question—in short, the method adopted by De Sanctis, and by Gelzer in his study of Fabius Pictor. In the second half of this paper I propose to discuss some of the facts which can be elicited upon the method, style, and purpose of Philinus.

## II

The famous story of Regulus appears in its earliest form<sup>2</sup> in Polybius i, where it serves as the text for a chapter (35) of sententious reflections. Regulus had not yet become—to Polybius at least—the later paragon of Roman *fides* and patriotism, dying a horrible death at Carthage rather than dishonour himself and his country. On the contrary, he was still an outstanding example of *ὑβρις*. 'He who so short a time previously', writes Polybius, 'refused either pity or mercy to those in distress was now, almost immediately, led captive himself and forced to implore pity for his own life.' On the subject of Regulus Polybius makes three points. First, Regulus' fate teaches us to distrust Fortune, especially when we are prospering. Secondly, the arrival and success of Xanthippus, the Spartan mercenary captain, who reorganized the Punic forces and turned the scales against Regulus, confirms the old adage, found in Euripides, that 'one wise counsel conquers many hands'.<sup>3</sup> Finally, taken together these two facts contribute to that instruction and improvement which comes through the reading of history, and is a less hurtful if less spectacular method of acquiring knowledge than personal experience; in short, serious history (*πραγματικὴ ἱστορία*) is the best discipline for life.

<sup>1</sup> De Sanctis, op. cit. iii. 1. 252; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 2. 285-6.

<sup>2</sup> On the Regulus saga and its growth see the excellent article by Klebs in P-W, s.v. 'Atilius (51)', cols. 2088-92; De Sanctis, op. cit. iii. 1. 154-6. I am not convinced by the attempt of T. Frank, *Class. Phil.* xxx, 1926, 311 ff., to defend the authenticity of Regulus' peace-mission; the legend seems to stand or fall as a whole. E. Pais's attempt to defend the whole legend in *Ricerche sulla storia e sul diritto pubblico di Roma*,

iv (1921), 411-37, is uncritical.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. i. 35. 5: *ἐν σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας νικᾷ* (Eurip., *Antiope*, fr. 31 Dindorf = Nauck, *Tr. gr. fr.* 2 200). Euripides was in fact referring to the strength of autocracy as against ochlocracy, but Polybius may well be quoting from some collection of proverbs; Themistius, *Or.* 16, p. 207 D refers to the line as famous, and it is quoted by Plutarch, Sextus Empir., Galen, Eustathius, and others; cf. C. Wunderer, *Polybios-Forschungen*, ii (1901), 57-8, 87.

Each of these ideas can be paralleled from many parts of Polybius' work. The first—the need to distrust Fortune—implies a philosophy similar to that commonly found in Herodotus and the tragedians, and treats Tyche as a force which brings a sudden reversal of one's lot at the moment of excessive good fortune (35. 2: *καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς εὐπραγίας*) as a result of folly and pride. Here Tyche is not wholly capricious, as it is, for instance, in Livy, *Perioch.* 18, which, in discussing Regulus' downfall, says merely: 'quaerente deinde fortuna, ut magnum utriusque casus exemplum in Regulo proderetur, etc.'; on the contrary Polybius stresses Regulus' refusal to show pity or mercy at the time of his success. Hence his downfall was the result of his own *ὑβρις* and a fitting moral spectacle to contemplate. The best parallel in Polybius to this conception of Tyche occurs in connexion with the last years of Philip V of Macedon, the crimes of whose youth find their retribution in a personal tragedy—the fatal quarrel between Demetrius and Perseus, his two sons, ending in the former's death—and the downfall of the whole realm of Macedon, the agent in both cases being Tyche.<sup>1</sup>

It is, however, well known that Polybius' conception of Tyche is far from consistent. Even in those passages where the word seems to designate a conscious, personal force, the character of this force varies considerably. Sometimes,<sup>2</sup> as here, Tyche bestows the fitting penalty on crime; but on occasion she is capricious and hands out an unfair reward,<sup>3</sup> damaging the innocent and giving glory to scoundrels; sometimes she takes a delight in mere change for its own sake, as when, after the crucifixion of Spendius, the leader of the Carthaginian mercenaries, his opponent Hannibal is taken and crucified on the same cross, 'as if it were the design of Fortune to compare them, and give both belligerents in turn cause and opportunity for inflicting on each other the cruellest punishments'.<sup>4</sup> Thus justice and caprice shade off into each other; and similarly, besides the conception of Fortune operating as the instrument of just retribution, to which Polybius' moral purpose leads him, wherever possible, to incline, there are other passages in which the pure jealousy of Tyche is to the fore,<sup>5</sup> as in the famous prayer with which Polybius ends his work.

The reflections on Regulus as an example of the power of Tyche are thus typically Polybian. Yet the very vagueness of Polybius' own usage indicates that the concept of Tyche is one common to many writers of the Hellenistic period. One example is Diodorus' account (whether derived from Duris or Timaeus)<sup>6</sup> of Agathocles' extraordinary changes of fortune, which show a typical mixture of caprice and retribution.

<sup>1</sup> See *JHS*, lviii, 1938, 55–68, for a full discussion of this tragic treatment of Philip's last years; see especially Polyb. xv. 20. 5.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. iv. 81. 5 (Cheilon's assassination of the ephors, *τῆς τύχης τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβολὴν δίκην*); xx. 7. 2 (the downfall of the Boeotians, *ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνταπόδοσιν ἡ τύχη ποιούμενη βάρως ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐμμεβαίνεω*); cf. i. 84. 10 where the agent is *τὸ δαίμονιον*.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. xv. 20. 5 (a person *εἰκότως τῇ τύχῃ μεμφόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων*); xvi. 32. 5 (one is justified in blaming Fortune for not saving Abydos); xxxii. 4. 3 (Fortune sometimes grants a fine death to the worst men, a blameworthy procedure).

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. i. 86. 7. This was the aspect of Tyche stressed by Demetrius of Phalerum; cf. Polyb. xxix. 21. 3–6.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. xxxix. 8. 2 (*τὴν τύχην ὡς ἔστιν ἀγαθὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*)—particularly when we

think that our life has been most blessed and most successful; cf. too Diod. xxvii. 6. 2 (*πέποιθις τὴν θεῶν*); xxvii. 15. 2; xxxi. 11. 3—all passages derived from Polybius.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. xx. 70; for the latest discussion see B. L. Ullman, *TAPhA*, lxxiii, 1942, 39. Ullman makes the source Duris, with Schwartz, P-W, s.v. 'Duris (3)', cols. 1853–6; but he admits that R. Schubert, *Geschichte des Agathokles* (1887), 181, and Laqueur, P-W, s.v. 'Timaios', col. 1174 (cf. G. Pasquali, *Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* xvi, 1939, 76–7) have good arguments for deriving it from Timaeus, who is known to have been very fond of synchronisms and curious coincidences of time, such as play so large a part in the history of Agathocles (cf. especially Diod. xx. 43. 7). For an example of such a coincidence, specifically attributed to Timaeus, see the story of the statue of Apollo and Alexander's capture of Tyre in Diod. xiii. 108. 4–5.

After losing the greater part of his army in a defeat in Sicily, Agathocles managed to vanquish his conquerors with a tiny band of men in Africa (Tyche capricious). Subsequently he killed his friend Ophellas, and on the anniversary of the day on which he did this he lost his two sons and all his forces (Tyche retributive). The god, like a good lawgiver, thus took double vengeance on him, Ophellas' friends being the very ones to lay hands on Agathocles' sons. *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τοὺς καταφρονούντας τῶν τοιούτων.*

Here is Polybius' just, avenging force in a non-Polybian passage, clear proof that it was common form in the third and second centuries. It is therefore interesting to find that Diodorus<sup>1</sup> makes the same point as Polybius about Regulus, whose pride was such *ὥστε τὸ μὲν δαμόνιον νεμεσῆσαι*. It is generally agreed that in this passage Diodorus is using Philinus, and that he did not take up Polybius as his source until book xxv, with its account of the Mercenary War; and this view is supported by another passage in Diodorus, xxiv. 9, in which a Roman commander Fundanius treats with contempt Hamilcar's request for a truce to bury the dead, only to find himself shortly afterwards obliged to come with a similar request himself: by replying that he made war on the living and not on the dead, Hamilcar was thus able to reveal his nobility of character. This anecdote is not in Polybius; yet it is so very clearly parallel to the story of Regulus, that it seems likely that Diodorus had both from the same source;<sup>2</sup> and that source will have been Philinus.

The conclusion is confirmed when we examine the two other points which Polybius makes in connexion with Regulus; for both are also in Diodorus. He, like Polybius, stresses the amazing change wrought by 'one man, and one man alone': *παράδοξον γὰρ ἐφαίνετο πᾶσιν εἰ προσγενομένου τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐνὸς μόνου ἀνδρός, τηλικαύτη τῶν ὄλων ἐγένετο μεταβολή κτλ.* (xxiii. 15. 5). Again we have a concept which is normally regarded as typically Polybian; for Polybius has similar reflections about Hannibal (ix. 22. 1; 6), Lyciscus of Aetolia (xxxii. 4. 2), and Archimedes of Syracuse.<sup>3</sup> Finally, Polybius' sententious observation on the advantage that accrues from the study of such events is also in Diodorus, who remarks (xxiii. 15. 4) that *τοῖς δὲ ἰδίοις συμπτώμασι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδαξε μέτρια φρονεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις*—by his own misfortunes Regulus taught others not to be carried away by insolence in time of prosperity; and a little farther down Diodorus observes (15. 6) that those who purpose similar folly are frequently deflected by the historian's condemnation of others' faults, while the honest praise of good characters diverts men's minds towards virtue.

Thus Polybius seems to have taken over the whole substance of this chapter from his predecessor, a conclusion which Laqueur draws,<sup>4</sup> without, however, seeing its full

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xxiii. 15. 2-6. On Diodorus' use of Philinus in his account of the First Punic War see Meltzer, op. cit. ii. 557. His narrative in books xxiii and xxiv contains many details not in Polybius, e.g. Hanno's victories in Libya at Hecatompylos, xxiv. 10. 1-2. In addition he also used a Roman annalist (cf. E. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, ii (1924), 227, n. 4), but this can scarcely have been the source of these reflections on Regulus. See also p. 4, n. 1, above.

<sup>2</sup> I am not convinced by Münzer's argument (P-W, s.v. 'Fundanius' (5), col. 292) that the Fundanius story is probably 'von der römischen aristokratischen Geschichtsschreibung in tendenziöser Weise ausgebeutet', as an attack on a member of a plebeian house. The story seems to me to betray a pro-Barcine rather than an anti-plebeian source.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Polyb. viii. 3. 3: *μία ψυχὴ τῆς ἀπάσης ἐστὶ πολυχειρίας ἐν ἐνίοις καιροῖς ἀνυστικωτέρα*; 7. 7: *οὕτως εἰς ἀνὴρ καὶ μία ψυχὴ δεινότητος ἡρμοσμένη πρὸς ἓνα τῶν πραγμάτων μέγα τι χρῆμα φαίνεται γίνεσθαι καὶ θαυμάσιον* (echoed by Livy, xxiv. 34. 1: 'unus homo'). The doctrine is linked up, not very convincingly, by von Scala, *Studien des Polybios*, i (1890), 94, with Heraclitus, *Fr. d. Vorsokr.*<sup>5</sup> (ed. Diels-Kranz), fg. 49: *εἰς ἑμὸι μύριοι ἐὰν ἄριστος ᾖ*. It seems to be a general commonplace of the Hellenistic age, and finds an echo in Ennius' famous line on Fabius: 'unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem'.

<sup>4</sup> P-W, s.v. 'Philinos' (8), col. 2187; cf. L. Sisto, *Atene e Roma*, xii, 1931, 181; C. Davin, *Beiträge zur Kritik der Quellen des I. Punischen Kriegs* (Progr. Schwerin, 1889), who discusses the relationship between Polybius', Diodorus',

implications for a study of Philinus. Laqueur observes, perfectly correctly, that this chapter establishes Philinus as the writer of a 'lehrhaft-pragmatische', i.e. a didactic and moralizing form of history. This is not perhaps surprising, for plainly the idea of learning vicariously from the misfortunes of others was a commonplace of Greek historical writing. It is the keynote of Polybius' general introduction (i. 1 f.), and it can be paralleled in Thucydides and Isocrates;<sup>1</sup> from Polybius' time onwards it becomes the normal mode. The prologue to Diodorus, probably derived from Poseidonius,<sup>2</sup> develops at some length the theme of the two ways of learning, by personal experience and vicariously. Cicero calls history the *magistra vitae*; and similar sentiments are echoed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Sallust, Strabo, Pliny, Lucian, and others.<sup>3</sup> Hence it is no wonder if Philinus takes his place in this company of moralizing historians. It is perhaps more interesting that his work can clearly be associated with that of the writers of 'tragic history', that Hellenistic school which Polybius criticizes no less strongly because he occasionally follows it.

In a first-class article in the *TAPhA* for 1942, Prof. B. L. Ullman<sup>4</sup> has discussed the character of the Hellenistic school of 'tragic' historians who, from the time of Isocrates, confounded the two separate literary categories, which Aristotle had kept sharply distinct, of tragedy and history. Polybius' criticisms of this school are well known;<sup>5</sup> in various passages he attacks the historians Theopompus, Timaeus, and Phylarchus, and certain unnamed historians writing on Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, and others writing on Hieronymus' downfall at Syracuse, etc., for a style of presentation that is inaccurate, sensational, and full of wonders (*παράδοξον*), but pays no regard to cause and effect. However, as Ullman points out, this tragic approach is also to be found in Polybius' own work, especially in his account of the downfall of the royal house of Macedon; and I believe that it plays a greater part in his general historical philosophy than has been generally admitted. For sensationalism pure and simple he had no time; but when by adducing the *περιπέτειαι* which have befallen others he could help the reader himself to endure the vicissitudes of fortune, *τύχης μεταβολάς* (i. 1. 2-2. 1), as a moralist Polybius could not resist including such events in his work. The extent to which he gives way to this temptation may be judged from the fact that the word *παράδοξος* occurs fifty-one times in books i-iii, apart from such synonyms as *παράλογος*, *ἀνέλπιστος*, *ἀπροσδόκητος*, etc.<sup>6</sup> The responsibility for this, Polybius would have argued, lay not in himself but in Tyche. She it was who caused history to develop on tragic lines—witness the supreme drama, the rise of Rome to world-wide domination in fifty-three years. 'For though Fortune is ever producing something new (*καινοποιούσα*) and ever playing a part (*ἐναγωνίζο-*

and Dio's accounts of the First Punic War (especially Polyb. i. 29. 3-36. 4), and concludes (p. 16): 'die ethische und die pragmatische Beurteilung der Vorgänge ist bei den drei Autoren die gleiche: die Uebereinstimmung aber lässt sich nur aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle erklären, und diese kann . . . nur Philinos sein'. But Davin's method and purpose are different from those of the present essay, and it would be irrelevant to discuss his arguments in detail.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thucyd. i. 22; ii. 48. 3; Isoc. ii. 35; vi. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. i. 1; this passage is derived from Ephorus by K. Lorenz, *Untersuchungen zum Geschichtswerk des Polybius*, Stuttgart, 1931, 10; G. L. Barber, *The Historian Ephorus* (1935), 103; and Ullman, *TAPhA*, lxxiii, 1942, 30, n. 31; but the general tone of the passage is hard to reconcile with a fourth-century source. It is almost

certainly Stoic and post-Polybian.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *de orat.* ii. 9. 36; Dionys. i. 2. 1; Sall. *Jug.* 4. 1-2; Strabo, i. 1. 22 ff.; cf. Joseph. *A.J.* i. 3; 4; Pliny, *epist.* v. 8. 11; Lucian, *πῶς δεῖ λόγ.* 39 fin., 42, and 43; Herodian, i. 1. 3. See Lorenz, *op. cit.* 10.

<sup>4</sup> B. L. Ullman, *TAPhA*, lxxiii, 1942, 25-53: 'History and Tragedy'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *JHS*, lviii, 1938, 55-68. See Polyb. ii. 56; iii. 47. 6-48. 12; 58. 9; vii. 7. 1-2. 6; x. 2. 5-6; xii. 24. 5; 26 b 4 ff.; xv. 34. 1-36. 11 (probably criticizing Ptolemy of Megalopolis); xvi. 12. 7-9; 14. 1; 17. 9; 18. 2; xxix. 12. 1-3. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Lorenz, *op. cit.* 11-12. This feature cannot of course be divorced from the question of the historical method pursued by Polybius' sources, and in particular Fabius; see below.

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μένη) in the lives of men, she has not in a single instance ever put on such a showpiece (οὐτ' ἡγωνίσαι ἀγώνισμα) as in our own times' (i. 4. 5).<sup>1</sup> To Polybius Tyche is a stage-manager and play-producer. The tragic scheme with its novelties and *peripeteiai* is there objectively in the fabric of events; the conscientious moral historian cannot do less than record these.<sup>2</sup> This train of ideas is very clearly expressed in the early chapters of the first book of Polybius, where the historian specifically links up the fact that Fortune has brought all the affairs of the world together into a composite whole (σωματοειδής) with the obligation of the historian to relate this process under a 'synoptical view' and in a single world history that shall bear the same character as the events themselves.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, Polybius was very ready to criticize his fellow-historians for sensationalism, by showing *either* that the wonders they recorded were not rooted in fact (and therefore not the work of Tyche, objectively true) *or* that they were related to no scheme of cause and effect (and were therefore not harnessed to a moral purpose). In practice, as one might expect, Polybius himself did not always find the line easy to draw. It is not difficult to persuade oneself that a good story with a good moral is there 'objectively' and not the result of the historian's selection of material, or a shaky tradition; and in one case at least this tendency to excuse sensationalism, if it conduced to virtue, is applied by Polybius to events in real life, and the moral criterion turned into a justification of obscurantism. Polybius' view of religion as an instrument for controlling the lower orders has been frequently noticed.<sup>4</sup> It is religion, in Polybius' opinion, that maintains the cohesion of the Roman State.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase οὐτ' ἡγωνίσαι ἀγώνισμα has been generally misunderstood; e.g. 'neque certamen ullum, quale nostra memoria, certaverat' (Schweighaeuser; cf. von Scala, op. cit. 172); 'or act such a drama' (Shuckburgh); 'ever achieved such a triumph' (Paton). None gets the exact force. An Amorgos inscription of c. 225-175 B.C. (IG xii. 7. 226, lines 4-6) speaks of a κωμωδός (playwright? or actor? perhaps an actor-manager, owning a troupe of players?) and uses the phrase δράματα ἀγωνίζεσθαι, i.e. 'to put on plays for competition' at a local festival. The meaning is the same here, with the substitution for δράμα of ἀγώνισμα 'a show-piece' (cf. Thucyd. i. 22: ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρήμα; used of plays by Aristotle, *Poet.* 1451<sup>b</sup>37). Polybius uses the same metaphor of Tyche as a play-producer elsewhere, e.g. xi. 5. 8: τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξώστρον ἀναβιβάζουσας τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγωνίαν; cf. xxiii. 10. 16; xxix. 19. 2 (with σκέρην for ἐξώστρον). In xxiii. 10. 12 he (or his excerptor: cf. *JHS*, lviii, 1938, 64) has the expression τρίτον δ' ἡ τύχη δράμα . . . ἐπεισήγαγεν. So too Diodorus, xxxii. 10. 5, in a passage the source of which is doubtful, but is certainly either Polybius or later: τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐν δράμασι τὸ παράδοξον τῆς περιμετέρας ἀγούσης εἰς ἐκκλημία.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes it is men's own excessive conduct which brings its *περιπέτεια*, with results the very opposite of what is contemplated; in such cases they may be said 'to put themselves, or their folly, on the stage', i.e. make an Aristotelian tragedy of their lives; cf. v. 15. 2: Apelles and the Macedonian counsellors, inspired by drink,

attacked Aratus and so ἐξεθεάτρισαν αὐτούς. Their own downfall was the reverse of their intentions. In more general terms (xi. 8. 7), those who try to imitate τῶν εὐτυχούντων (Paton: 'favoured by fortune') in unessentials ἐκθεατρῶν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀκρισίαν—they make a 'tragic' display of their own lack of judgement, to their own detriment (μετὰ βλάβης). In all such cases, Polybius would have said, Tyche was really fulfilling her function as stage-manager.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. i. 3. 3-6; 4. 1-11. For σωματοειδής as a quality of historical events see i. 3. 4; in xiv. 12. 5 it is applied to the description of the end of Ptolemy IV's reign in a single account οἷον σωματοειδῆ 'as a unified whole' (not, as Paton, 'a life-like picture'). See, for the same idea, Cicero, *ad fam.* v. 12. 4: 'a principio enim coniurationis usque ad reditum nostrum videtur mihi modicum quoddam corpus confici posse.' The idea of the corpus or σῶμα in literature seems to go back to the Platonic-Aristotelian conception of the unity of a literary work; cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 264 c (every λόγος must be like a ζῷον); Arist. *Poet.* 1459<sup>a</sup>17 ff. (who, however, specifically excepts history from its application!). See Lorenz, op. cit. 87, n. 92; 99, n. 227. The novelty in Polybius is that, assisted by his conception of Tyche as 'producer', he projects the idea of the unity of an historical work on to the objective course of historical events.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. vi. 56. 6 ff. Cf. B. Farrington, *Science and Politics in the Ancient World* (1939), 166-8; 'Examiner', *Greece and Rome*, xii, 1943, 59.

'These matters', he writes, 'are clothed in tragic garb (*ἐκτετραγώδηται*) and introduced (*παρεισῆκται*)' to such an extent into their public and private life, that nothing could exceed it, a fact which will surprise many. . . . The multitude must be held in by invisible terrors and suchlike pageantry (*τοῖς ἀδήλοις φόβοις καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγωδίᾳ*). Therefore, I think, not that the ancients acted rashly and at haphazard in introducing among the common people (*παρεισάγαγεῖν εἰς τὰ πλῆθη*) notions concerning the gods and beliefs in the terrors of Hades, but that the moderns are most rash and foolish in banishing such beliefs.' It has not, I think, been observed that Polybius is here interpreting (and justifying) the Roman State religion in terms similar to those in which he condones the writing of 'tragic' history. The analogy is, however, directly drawn by Diodorus in a prologue which is very reminiscent of Polybius, and derives probably from Poseidonius and certainly from post-Polybian material.<sup>2</sup> 'If', writes Diodorus (i. 2), 'myths about Hades, containing fictional material, conduce greatly to inspiring men to piety and justice, how much more must we suppose history . . . capable of shaping men's characters in ways of honour?'<sup>3</sup> The connexion is revealing; it shows how very much moral aims governed Polybius both as a citizen and as a historian, and how very far he was from applying in practice the criterion of objective, unvarnished truth.<sup>4</sup>

Now the criticism of Regulus retailed by both Polybius and Diodorus suggests that Philinus adopted the same approach towards history. The works of Tyche, the stress on the accomplishments of one man, the *peripeleia* which befell Regulus through a fault in his character, are all marks of the tragic school, and their exploitation in the interests of morality puts Philinus in a line of development which Ullman has traced from Ephorus<sup>5</sup> down to Polybius and beyond; the essence of this school may be summed up in the phrase 'sensationalism harnessed to a didactic purpose'. Its tenets are clearly revealed in a passage in which Polybius pays homage to the service done to their country by the historians of the Persian invasion or the Gallic attack on Delphi. 'For there is no one', he goes on (ii. 35. 8),<sup>6</sup> 'whom hosts of men or abundance of arms or vast resources could frighten into abandoning his last hope, that is to fight to the end for his native land, if he kept before his eyes what part the unexpected (*τὸ παράδοξον*) played in those events, and bore in mind how many myriads of men, what determined courage, and what armaments were brought to naught by the resolve and power of those who faced the danger with intelligence and coolness (*σὺν νῶ καὶ μετὰ λογισμοῦ*).' In this curious partnership between Tyche and

<sup>2</sup> *παρεισάγω* is used elsewhere by Polybius in the sense of introducing a character or material into a narrative; cf. iii. 20. 3 on the sensational (*θανυμόσιον*) picture of the solemn sitting of the Senate drawn by Sosylus and Chaereas; iii. 47. 7 on the kind of Hannibal the 'tragic' historians introduce into their works; v. 2. 6 on the sons of Aeacus introduced into a poem by Hesiod.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 8, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> For the myths of Hades as an ingredient of tragedy cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1456<sup>a</sup>3; 1453<sup>b</sup>7; cf. Ullman, op. cit. 31, n. 33. For the function of such myths as an ingredient of 'political' religion cf. Arist. *Metaph.* xii. 8. 13. 1074<sup>b</sup>. This idea seems to have been first expressed by Critias in his *Sisyphus* (cf. Diels, *Fragm. d. Vorsokr.* (ed. Kranz), ii<sup>5</sup>, p. 386, frg. 25). See further B. Farrington, op. cit. 87 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, in several places (ii. 56. 10; xii. 25 b; xxxvi. 1. 7) Polybius stresses the duty

of the historian to record what was actually said (*τοὺς κατ' ἀλήθειαν εἰρημένους λόγους*); but another very revealing passage (xii. 25 i, 4 ff.; on which see C. Wunderer, *Polybios-Forschungen*, ii (1901), 11) shows plainly that he drew no clear distinction between the actual words spoken and *τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας καὶ καιροὺς λόγους*, which we shall record *εἰ μέλλομεν μὴ βλέπειν, ἀλλ' ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας*.

<sup>6</sup> Ullman, op. cit. 30-1. Ephorus wrote *Παράδοξα* and was clearly not hostile to the sensational in itself; but according to Strabo, vii. 3. 9, he criticized writers who told only of the savagery of the Sauromatae *εἰδότες τὸ δεινὸν τε καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἐκπληκτικὸν ὄν· δεῖν δὲ τάναντία καὶ λέγειν καὶ παραδείγματα ποιέσθαι*. (*παραδείγματα* are 'lessons' as in Thucyd. iii. 40.) Ullman's case is weakened by his assumption that the preface to Diodorus comes from Ephorus (see above, p. 8, n. 2). <sup>7</sup> Cf. Ullman, op. cit. 41, n. 81.



the rational faculties of man,<sup>1</sup> which is to serve as a lesson and a spur to others, we have a typical example of this particular Hellenistic approach to history. For historians of this school morality is the cloak under which sensationalism steals in; but as in the case of our own Sunday press, the cloak is often a little threadbare, and we find the 'tragic' criterion operating in its own right.

An interesting example, for instance, of the way in which Philinus adopted this tragic style with its stress on the pattern wrought by Tyche, and the changes she occasions in men's fortunes, is probably to be seen in Polybius' treatment of the two battles of Drepana in 249 B.C. and the Aegates Islands in 242 B.C. Polybius' accounts of these two battles are of a somewhat stylized nature. Both contain an elaborate description of the relative advantages of the two sides, beginning with the Carthaginians at Drepana and the Romans at the Aegates Islands: in each case the description is punctuated with the remark that the other side found things exactly the opposite—*τοῖς γε μὴν Ῥωμαίοις τὰναντία τούτων συνέβαινε* (51. 8) and *περὶ δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὰναντία τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν* (61. 4). Each battle too is preceded by a speech from the ultimate victor, Adherbal (49. 10) and Lutatius Catulus (60. 5). Now this parallelism is quite conscious. Polybius remarks specifically (61. 2) that 'as the condition of each force (i.e. at the Aegates Islands) was just the reverse of what it had been at the battle of Drepana, the result also was naturally the reverse for each'.

Clearly Polybius has used the same source for both battles; and this is almost unanimously admitted to have been Philinus.<sup>2</sup> This alone would not prove that Polybius' schematic treatment was also in his source. But it is scarcely mere chance that Diodorus (following Philinus) stresses the figure 117 as being that of the Roman sinkages at Drepana and the Punic losses at the Aegates Islands (xxiv. 1. 5; II. 1), though in the latter battle it includes both sunk and captured. Whether this numerical coincidence inspired the schematization or is to be regarded as part of it is not clear. But it certainly suggests that Polybius' treatment of the battles goes back to Philinus. It is consistent with what we have learnt to recognize as his historical method in the incidents of Regulus and Fundanius; it suits the concept of a Tyche which casts events into a balanced pattern, requiting good fortune with ill, and ill with good.

### III

It is time to sum up. Of Philinus of Agrigentum we know from Polybius<sup>3</sup> that he was pro-Carthaginian and anti-Roman, and it has been conjectured with great plausibility that this attitude was reinforced by the harsh treatment of his native town by the Romans, after its capture in 261.<sup>4</sup> Philinus' particular interest in Greeks in Carthaginian employ, such as Alexon the Achaean mercenary, who had once saved Agrigentum (Polyb. i. 43. 2 ff.), or the Spartan Xanthippus, who saved Carthage, has been taken to indicate that he may himself have held a similar position. To these conjectures we are now in a position to add that his work, which was most probably a monograph on the First Punic War, was written in the manner of the Hellenistic

<sup>1</sup> On this combination of foresight and courage, and its relation to the factor of Tyche, as developed in Polybius, see Lorenz, *op. cit.* 43 ff. (who, however, seems to me to overstress the Stoic influence in the notion of *δρμή* and *λόγος*; his parallels from Thucydides for the *τόλμα* of the Athenians appear to invalidate this part of his argument); E. Täubler, *Tyche: historische Studien* (1926), 89.

<sup>2</sup> For Philinus as the source for Drepana and the Aegates Islands see De Sanctis, *op. cit.* iii. 1. 228-9; Gelzer, *Hermes*, lxxviii, 1933, 141;

Laqueur, P-W, s.v. 'Philinos (8)', cols. 2188-9, who all agree on this point. Reuss, however, *Philol.* lx, 1901, 137, makes Polybius' source for Drepana Fabius Pictor.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb. i. 14 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. i. 19. 15; cf. Diod. xxiii. 9. 1; Oros. iv. 6. 6, who both state that the population was enslaved. This statement is questioned by Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 1. 653, n. 1, but it was the Roman custom to enslave the population of conquered towns and there is no valid reason to reject the tradition.

'tragic' school, with special stress on *παράδοξα*, sensations, unexpected reversals of fortune, and the prominent part played in human affairs by Tyche. These characteristics, which break through in Polybius himself, were by his testimony<sup>1</sup> particularly likely to appear in the works of *οἱ τὰς ἐπὶ μέρους γράφοντες πράξεις*, writers of particular studies in contrast to authors of universal history (like himself), because 'dealing with a subject which is circumscribed and narrow, they are compelled for lack of facts to make small things great and to devote much space to matters not really worthy of record'. On the other hand, Polybius never makes against Philinus the charges he so freely flings against Theopompus, Timaeus, and Phylarchus—perhaps because, like Polybius himself, Philinus was inclined to harness his sensationalism to a didactic conception of history.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately—for this warning must be uttered—these literary characteristics are not of a kind to make it easier to isolate those passages in Polybius' narrative of the First Punic War which go back to Philinus, for there seems good reason to think that a similar element was present in the history of Fabius Pictor. This is, I think, evident from what can be recovered of Fabius' account of the beginnings of Rome from Dionysius and Plutarch's *Life of Romulus*.<sup>3</sup> The version associated with Fabius and Diocles of Peparethus is described in Plutarch<sup>4</sup> as *δραματικὸν καὶ πλάσματῶδες*, dramatic and fabulous; but, adds Plutarch, one ought not to disbelieve it when one observes what kind of deeds are the handiwork of Tyche, and considers that the Roman State would never have reached the heights it has, without some divine start (*μὴ θείαν τινὰ ἀρχὴν λαβόντα*) which had in it elements of the great and the extraordinary (*μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσιν*).<sup>5</sup> Whether Fabius followed Diocles or vice versa,<sup>6</sup> it is generally admitted that his account of Romulus' birth and upbringing is a pure drama in prose. As De Sanctis observes,<sup>7</sup> the use of the cradle for the *ἀναγνώρισις* was taken directly from Sophocles' play of *Tyro*, the daughter of Salmoeneus, a work which obviously played an important role in the shaping of the Romulus legend.<sup>8</sup> Whether this tragic element reached Fabius from Diocles cannot perhaps be determined with certainty. The important thing for our purpose is that it ranges Fabius alongside of Philinus, as an historian whose work showed the influence of the 'tragic' school, a point which Dr. Tarn came near making forty years ago, in his article on the fleets of the First Punic War, when he spoke of 'the deliberate introduction by Fabius of an element of wonder into this war'.<sup>9</sup> For it seems improbable that Fabius treated the early events of Roman history after a fashion markedly different from his treatment of the later; indeed the well-known story of the *corvus*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vii. 7. 6; xxix. 12; and see the other passages quoted by Ullman, op. cit. 42-3.

<sup>2</sup> It may also be assumed that Philinus followed the traditional custom of writing and including speeches in his narrative; such may be the explanation of such passages in Polyb. i as 27. 1 (where the observations of the Punic commanders repeat the arguments of 26. 1), and 32. 8; 44. 1; 45. 3; 49. 10; 60. 5, where phrases like *παρακαλέας τῷ καιρῷ τὰ πρέποντα* may represent a full-dress speech in an original source. However, the phrase occurs elsewhere in Polybius (e.g. ii. 64. 1; iii. 71. 8; 108. 2; 111. 11; iv. 80. 15; v. 53. 6; 60. 3; viii. 13. 5; xi. 11. 2), and is perhaps merely Polybius' substitute for the rhetorical commonplaces which a Timaeus would have introduced at such points (cf. P. La-Roche, *Charakteristik des Polybius* (1857), 64).

<sup>3</sup> Dion. Hal. i. 79 ff.; Plut. *Rom.* 3 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Rom.* 8.

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Hal. i. 84. 1 also gives a version which he says is Fabian, and after criticizing it for being *τῶν μυθωδοτέρων* and *δραματικῆς μεστὸν ἀτοπίας*, he explains it away in euhemerizing terms.

<sup>6</sup> On this particular crux see most recently A. Momigliano, *JRS*, xxxiii, 1943, 102, whom I believe to be right in accepting the traditional account. To the authorities he quotes add Rosenberg, P-W, s.v. 'Romulus', col. 1085, and De Sanctis, op. cit. i. 214 ff. <sup>7</sup> Op. cit. i. 214 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. H. Last, *CAH*, vii. 366; E. Täubler, op. cit. 70, 71; the influence of Sophocles' *Tyro* is rejected by M. Cary, *History of Rome*, 40.

<sup>9</sup> W. W. Tarn, *JHS*, xxvii, 1907, 51, n. 19. Another example may be the stress on the womanly character of Teuta in Polyb. ii. 4. 8; 8. 12.

and the *peripeteia* accomplished by it (a story not in Philinus)<sup>1</sup> is an excellent example of the kind of thing that was typical of the sensational historian, and incidentally prompted Tarn's observation.

Fabius wrote for a Greek audience and, especially where he could draw on Greek sources, he wrote 'tragic history' after the Hellenistic school.<sup>2</sup> This means, however, that it is impossible to use literary criteria to separate the Fabian parts of Polybius from those where Philinus is the source. On the other hand, our closer definition of the character of Philinus' work, and the knowledge that Polybius' account of the First Punic War is part of the introduction to his history proper, should make us much more suspicious about Polybius' independence of his sources in book i, even for comments of a type which seem essentially Polybian in character: the chapter on Regulus makes that clear. It is therefore not improbable that other passages in book i containing criticism and comments go back directly to either Fabius or Philinus.

Let us take a single example, Polybius' criticism of the Roman consuls for the disaster off Camarina in 255 B.C., on their way back from Africa (37. 1-6), and the general reflections which follow on Roman naval policy (37. 7-10). Gelzer seems to allot this chapter to Fabius;<sup>3</sup> and the specific charge against the consuls, M. Aemilius Paullus and Ser. Fulvius Paestinus Nobilior, that they sailed along the south coast of Sicily, can indeed have come into the tradition only at a later date, when it was no longer apparent that while the Carthaginians held the western tip of Sicily there was no alternative route for a Roman fleet sailing to and from Africa.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the general observations which follow on the subject of Roman naval disasters, caused by a headstrong policy in the face of nature, were no longer pertinent at any time after the First Punic War, and certainly point to the hand of a contemporary.<sup>5</sup> This is confirmed by the similarity between these reflections and those on Regulus two chapters before. Lorenz has already pointed to the use of words such as *βία* (§§ 7 and 10), *δρμή* (§ 7), *τόλμα* (§ 10), and *βαιομαχεῖν* (§ 9);<sup>6</sup> and the reference to the Roman tendency to try to fight not merely men and the works of men, but the very sea and atmosphere, i.e. Nature herself,<sup>7</sup> is also the mark of *ὑβρις* similar to that which led to the fall of Regulus. Equally there is the didactic element here as well: the Romans are to learn from their disaster (§ 10: *διωρθώσονται*; cf. 35. 6: *διωρθώσεως*). Thus internal evidence confirms Laqueur's assumption that Polybius' criticism at this point has been taken more or less as it stands from Philinus.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the *corvus* (*κόραξ*), alleged to have been used at Mylae (Polyb. i. 22) see Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, 1930, 111-12, 149-50. It is generally agreed that the Carthaginian defeat recorded by Polyb. i. 21. 9-11 is in fact Philinus' version of the battle of Mylae, which Polybius failed to recognize because the *corvus* was omitted (cf. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 1. 654, n. 1; Lenschau, P-W, s.v. 'Hannibal (3)', cols. 2321-2; Tarn, *JHS*, xxvii, 1907, 51, n. 19; De Sanctis, op. cit. iii. 1. 128-9, n. 73; 226).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pasquali, *Enc. Ital.* (1936), s.v. 'Roma', 909. 'La storia di Fabbio Pittore . . . era, almeno nelle intenzioni, arte, quale la teoria ellenistica esige che fosse la storiografia.' This is true, but it is only half the story; much of Fabius must have reflected his exiguous Roman sources. See below, Addendum, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes*, lxxviii, 1933, 140: 'Die hier vorgebrachten Einzeltatsachen wird er nicht erfunden

haben.' The implication seems to be that he had them from Fabius.

<sup>4</sup> Meltzer, op. cit. ii. 308; De Sanctis, op. cit. iii. 1. 158.

<sup>5</sup> So Laqueur, P-W, s.v. 'Philinos (8)', col. 2187; the argument that the reference to Rome's invariable success on land was contradicted by the Hannibalic War is less cogent, since if the reflections were those of Polybius himself, it might well be argued that the victories in the east had dimmed the memory of the years 218-216 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> On this question of terminology see Lorenz, op. cit. 45, who, however, again claims Stoic influence (see above, p. 11, n. 1).

<sup>7</sup> The accusation recalls Xerxes flogging the Hellespont to avenge the destruction of his bridge: Hdt. vii. 35-6; Aesch. *Pers.* 745 ff.

<sup>8</sup> It may be argued that the didactic attitude towards Rome is inconsistent with Philinus' anti-Roman policy; but lecturing one's enemy has always been a popular enough device of

A final point. What were Philinus' politics? Laqueur argues<sup>1</sup> that he was an aristocrat, on the grounds that Polybius (i. 24. 2) refers to his (and Fabius') *βίος καὶ αἵρεσις*—which appears to mean his 'way of life and conduct', his 'character and principles', as Paton translates it.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of this assumption Laqueur then goes on to build up a fantastic version of Philinus' political development. The aristocracy of Agrigentum,<sup>3</sup> he supposes, joined Rome, among them Philinus, who having thus transformed his partisan attitude (which Polybius comments on), became interested in giving an objective, didactic account of the war. Later he found his way to Rome, where he investigated Roman institutions: he recognized in his one-time foes a people who could do the world a real service (particularly in a certain firmness in dealing with barbarian mercenaries), and they in turn saw in him a historian who could write an objective account of the war. Thus he became exactly the kind of man from whom Polybius could learn a lesson! In short, were it not for his unfortunately having failed to survive, Philinus would by this time undoubtedly have been dissected into layers and rearranged in successive editions; as it is,<sup>4</sup> having no original text to work on, Laqueur has lent him a shadowy and spurious personality borrowed from Polybius. I think, however, that this particular structure can be very simply demolished. Diodorus (xxiii. 1. 2) states that on his arrival in Agrigentum in 264 the Carthaginian Hanno fortified the citadel *πέποισας τὸν δῆμον φίλον ὄντα συμμάχῃσαι Καρχηδονίων*. Thus it was the popular party at Agrigentum which favoured Carthage. Therefore, if we are to draw any conclusion at all on the political views of Philinus, the pro-Carthaginian, it must surely be that he was a democrat. If, on the other hand, this deduction seems too tenuous, then at least it must be granted that even less can be concluded from a phrase like *βίος καὶ αἵρεσις*. We may therefore dismiss the whole of Laqueur's fantastic and wholly unfounded picture of Philinus' later development. Whether he visited Carthage or Rome is a subject on which, in the absence of any evidence, there can be no profitable speculation.<sup>5</sup>

However, Laqueur's article, for all its exaggerations, contains something of value; and that is the point, which I believe he has made successfully, that Philinus was a didactic historian, not dissimilar in temperament to the greater figure who chose to use him as a source for the First Punic War. On the basis of Laqueur's work it is possible to advance to a slightly clearer picture of a third-century historian, who

rhetoric. In any case, if the reflections are Polybius' own, it is hard to explain their *irrelevance*; other Polybian criticisms of Roman conduct are concerned with specific incidents (e.g. i. 83. 11; 88. 8 ff.; iii. 28. 1 (seizure of Sardinia); iii. 26. 6 (help given to Mamertines)), and not as here with Roman character.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., col. 2192.

<sup>2</sup> On the various meanings of *αἵρεσις* in Polybius see J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Selections from Polybius*, 1888, 7.

<sup>3</sup> I keep Laqueur's terminology, though in fact 'aristocracy' is an unsuitable word to describe the ruling class in the Greek states of the third and second centuries, with its stress on wealth rather than blood. The real situation comes out in the Achaean formula *πλουτίδα καὶ ἀριστίδα* (IG, vii. 188, line 8), where *πλουτίδα* expresses the reality, *ἀριστίδα* the propaganda phrase in which the reality is muffled. See further A. Aymard, *Assemblées de la confédéra-*

*tion achائية*, 56, n. 4; 137, n. 4; 335 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Successive editions are the only way of reconciling the anti-Roman tendency on which Polybius comments with the *objective*, didactic work which Laqueur's theory postulates (and for which there is no evidence).

<sup>5</sup> One should note the change in Laqueur's picture of Polybius' development. In his book *Polybius* (1913), 261–77, he banished the view of Tyche as subject to law, and therefore a proper study for the historian, the concept of world-history, Stoicism, and the didactic-utilitarian approach, to the fifth edition of the *Histories*; whereas the influence of Philinus came in in editions 2 and 3. Now that Philinus has been shown (rightly, I believe) to have been a didactic-utilitarian writer, Laqueur's famous scheme seems ripe for revision. How its author intends to resolve this contradiction is not yet apparent; but it will be difficult to find a way out which does not offer violence to the original system.

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occupies a mere four lines in Susemihl, but may have played a considerable part in the development of Polybius' ideas and sense of history.<sup>1</sup>

ADDENDUM: *M. Gelzer's Theory of the Origins of Roman Historiography*

In two articles, published in *Hermes* of 1933 and 1934,<sup>2</sup> Gelzer argued that Fabius, Cincius, Acilius, and Postumius Albinus, the earliest Roman historians, are to be sharply differentiated from the later school of 'annalists'. They were fully fledged political historians, putting the senatorial case in Greek to a Greek public, while the later Latin annalists composed jejune records in the sacerdotal tradition, for a Roman aristocracy of politicians and priests with a professional taste for antiquarian knowledge; Cato's innovation was to write genuine political history in Latin. Already in 1936 J. Vogt<sup>3</sup> made some valid points against this theory. Apart from the inherent improbability of the Romans' providing a propagandist history for Greek consumption before undertaking their own evaluation of the Roman past, Gelzer's theory implied too rigid a definition of the character of *annales*; if the second-century Latin annalists like Piso could give a combination of senatorial and pontifical material, why not also their Greek-writing predecessors? Finally, there was Cicero's famous comment (*de orat.* ii. 52) on the early annalists (specifically including Fabius), who, following the same manner of writing as that in the *annales maximi*, 'sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum gestarumque rerum reliquerunt'; this statement could not fairly be dismissed as referring to nothing beyond style and language.

Telling as these points are, Gelzer's argument deserves closer attention. A fundamental point for his thesis is Sempronius Asellio's distinction<sup>4</sup> between *res gestae* and *annales*: 'Verum inter eos qui annales relinquere voluissent, et eos qui res gestas a Romanis perscribere conati essent, omnium rerum hoc interfuit. annales libri tantummodo quod factum quoque anno gestum sit, ea demonstrabant, id est quasi qui diarium scribunt, quam Graeci ἐφημερίδα vocant. nobis non modo satis esse video, quod factum esset, id pronuntiare, sed etiam, quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent, demonstrare.' Fabius, Gelzer argues, wrote *res gestae* by Asellio's definition. The opening words of the extract show that Asellio envisages a number of predecessors of this type; and one of Fabius' successors, A. Postumius Albinus, was clearly designated by Polybius (xxxix. 1. 4) as a writer of *πραγματικὴ ἱστορία*. The implication is that *πραγματικὴ ἱστορία*—such as Polybius himself writes—is to be identified with the *res gestae* of Asellio, who, it is agreed, wrote under the strong influence of Polybius.<sup>5</sup>

There is a fallacy here. In defining *res gestae* Asellio undoubtedly had in mind Polybius, whose insistence on the importance of causality needs no illustration. The only point is really whether the authors of *res gestas a Romanis* included anyone besides Polybius—and Asellio himself, Polybius' first true follower in Latin. Certainly there is nothing in what Asellio says to indicate that these authors were Fabius and his successors.<sup>6</sup> Throughout our Roman records Fabius figures as the writer of

<sup>1</sup> Susemihl, *Geschichte der griech. Litterat. in der Alexandrinerzeit*, i. 634.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 1, n. 2. Gelzer is followed in essentials and amplified by F. Altheim, *Epochen der römischen Geschichte*, ii (1935), 305 ff. For the usual view of the development of annalistic writing at Rome, which Gelzer attacked, see for example, the discussion of Cichorius, P-W, s.v. 'Annales', cols. 2255-6; E. Pais, *Ricerche sulla storia e sul diritto pubblico di Roma*, iv (1921), 177-224.

<sup>3</sup> J. Vogt, *Gnomon*, xii, 1936, 524-6, in a review of Altheim's *Epochen der römischen Geschichte*, ii; see, too, De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* lxi, 1933, 548.

<sup>4</sup> F. 1 and 2 (Peter) = Aul. Gell. v. 18. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kornemann, *Klio*, xi, 1911, 256; Peter ad F. 2 (*HRR*, i<sup>2</sup>, p. 179), comparing Polyb. iii. 20. 5.

<sup>6</sup> The reference to the Greek translation of *diarium* shows that Asellio was not limiting himself to Roman theory or practice.

*annales*,<sup>1</sup> whether in their original Greek form or in the later Latin translation.<sup>2</sup> We have no reason to believe that to Sempronius Asellio he was anything different.

What then of the *πραγματική ιστορία* of Postumius Albinus? Here two points need making. First, Polybius only says that Postumius *tried* to write *πραγματική ιστορία* (ποίημα γράφειν καὶ πρ. ἱστ. ἐνεχέρησεν). Secondly, it is doubtful if *πραγματική ιστορία* here means anything more than 'serious history'. Certainly it does not mean 'history which investigates causes' or 'history with a didactic purpose', as generations of scholars, despite Schweighaeuser's clear explanation,<sup>3</sup> have continued to take it. Often Polybius uses the phrase *πραγματική ιστορία* as nothing more than a synonym for *ἱστορία*. Where he defines it more closely (ix. 1-2), it distinguishes a political and military narrative based on sober fact from the more mythical types of composition dealing with genealogies, or with the foundations of cities, colonization, and relationships. For the analysis of cause and effect implied in Asellio's *res gestae* Polybius had a separate expression—*ἀποδεικτική ἱστορία*.<sup>4</sup> In his account of the geology of the Black Sea (iv. 40. 1) he contrasts his own *ἀποδεικτική διήγησις* with the account of others *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ φάσει κείμενον*. Elsewhere (x. 21. 8) he opposes the encomium, which is written *κεφαλαϊώδης καὶ μετ' αὐξήσεως τῶν πράξεων* to history which, *κοινὸς ὢν ἐπαίνου καὶ ψόγου, ζητεῖ τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ τὸν μετ' ἀποδείξεως καὶ τῶν ἐκάστοις παρεπομένων συλλογισμῶν* (sc. *ἀπολογισμῶν*).<sup>5</sup> A similar contrast exists between his own introductory books, written *ἐπικεφαλαίουμενοι* (ii. 40. 4; cf. i. 13. 7; ii. 1. 4; 14. 1), and the main body of his work, *ἡ ἀποδεικτική ἱστορία* (ii. 37. 3; cf. iii. 1. 3).

In Polybius, then, *ἀποδεικτική*—Asellio's *res gestae*—and *πραγματική* clearly represent two separate ideas, the former being concerned with method, the latter with content; and in one passage (x. 21. 3) Polybius admits the possibility that authors who describe the foundation of cities—a type of history which is specifically contrasted in ix. 1-2 with *πραγματική*—*τὰς διαθέσεις καὶ περιστάσεις μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἐξαγγέλλειν*. Thus if the meaning of *πραγματική* in Polybius' criticism of Postumius is to be pressed (which I question), it implies 'a history dealing with political and military events', and not 'a history based on the principle of causality'.<sup>6</sup> Hence it is not identical with Asellio's *res gestae*, and does not in any way contradict the traditional picture of Postumius as an 'annalist'.<sup>7</sup>

In any case, Gelzer made far too much of this passage from Asellio, which is

<sup>1</sup> F. 3: in *Fabi Pictoris Graecis annalibus* (Cic. *de div.* i. 21. 43); F. 24 (Pliny, *n.h.* x. 71); F. 27 (Pliny, *n.h.* xiv. 89); Cic. *de orat.* ii. 12. 52 (*annalium confectio*).

<sup>2</sup> The Latin version (cf. Peter, *HRR*, i<sup>9</sup>, pp. 112-13) was probably a translation, not the work of the later jurist; cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* i (1927), 172; Beloch, *Römische Gesch.* 98, against Münzer, P-W, s.v. 'Fabius (128)', col. 1843.

<sup>3</sup> In his commentary to i. 2. 8 (vol. v (1792), pp. 125-30): cf. especially: 'Ubi Postumius Albinum ait graece πρ. ἱστ. scripsisse, non cogitavit de peculiari quadam ratione, qua scripta erat illa historia; nihil quidquam amplius significat nisi quod Cicero in Bruto (21. 81 = T. 2) ait, *Albinus qui Graece scripsit historiam*, aut quod Gellius (xi. 8. 2 = F. 1) *Albinus res Romanas oratione graeca scriptitavit* aut Plutarchus in Catone mai. (12 = T. 4) *Ἀλβῖνος ἱστορίαν ἑλληνιστὶ γράψας*.' Schweighaeuser's analysis of the meaning of *πραγματική*

*ἱστορία* will be found repeated in Strachan-Davidson, *Selections from Polybius*, 3-5.

<sup>4</sup> See Schweighaeuser, loc. cit., and Strachan-Davidson, op. cit. 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> There is the same distinction in Plut. *Galba*, 2. 3: *τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἑκάστα τῶν γενομένων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἀκριβῶς τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἴσθιν* (as opposed to biography). It is noteworthy that the same meaning is expressed elsewhere (*Alex.* 1), by the word *ἱστορία* alone: *οὐ γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους*.

<sup>6</sup> That Postumius' history, like Fabius', went back to the *origines* of Rome (cf. F. 3 (Peter), which will scarcely be from a separate work: *HRR*, pp. cxxv-cxxvi), and so will have ranked technically among the accounts of the *κρίσις* of a town (as Gelzer and Altheim admit: cf. too Cato's title, *Origines*), is another reason for not pressing the meaning of *πραγματική*, which excludes this branch of history.

<sup>7</sup> Macrobius, iii. 20. 5, referring to Postumius' work, speaks of *annali primo* (F. 2 Peter).

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merely one man's definition, at variance both with that of Gellius himself<sup>1</sup> and with the view (which Gellius also quotes) of the learned Verrius Flaccus, who understood by *annales* an account of the past and by *historia* a record of one's own time.<sup>2</sup> In fact both Flaccus' and Asellio's definitions are developed out of the primary meaning of *annales*, an account written *per annos*, like the 'annales pontificum maximorum, quibus nil potest esse ieiunius' (Cic. *de leg.* i. 2. 6), or the various Latin successors of Cato, who are known to have composed bare chronicles containing such political and sacerdotal details as those with which Livy prefaces each consular year. Gelzer claims that this element was absent from Fabius' work. On the other hand, the fourth book of Cato's *Origines* contained the famous passage: 'Non lubet scribere, quod in tabula apud pontificem maximum est, quotiens annona cara, quotiens lunae aut solis lumine caligo aut quid obstiterit.' This assertion is hard to understand as a mere definition of Cato's position (as the first Latin historian) relative to the pontifical *tabula*. It surely implies predecessors whose works *had* included pontifical material, and would seem to be directed at Fabius.<sup>3</sup> How far Cato really broke away from the annalistic tradition is another matter. One innovation, which has been interpreted as an anti-aristocratic gesture,<sup>4</sup> was his omission of the names of consuls.<sup>5</sup> But in the ancient manner he probably exaggerated the novelty of his own practice.

If the later Roman tradition made Fabius the author of *annales*, this probably means that he wrote with a year-by-year chronological system. But this, as Mommsen long ago observed,<sup>6</sup> does not imply that the 'annalistic' (year-by-year) scheme was never abandoned. It is quite likely that Fabius treated such topics as the Gallic Wars *en bloc*, and there were no doubt several similar instances. Polybius too wrote normally by Olympiad years, but on occasion allows himself the liberty of combining related events from a series of years within a single passage.<sup>7</sup> Gelzer is not therefore justified in setting up a rigid *either . . . or* on this question, as if the fact that Fabius occasionally treated events outside the year-by-year chronology rules out any annalistic scheme at all. Similarly it is a false antithesis to insist that because Fabius wrote with a political purpose, in order to present the Roman case to a Greek audience, therefore he cannot have given the jejune details of the corn supply, expiation of prodigies, etc., which are so familiar to us from Livy. To argue in this way is to ignore Fabius' literary ancestry, Roman and Greek. The Greek side has been discussed above.<sup>8</sup> It appears in the 'tragic' scheme borrowed (probably) from Diocles, and from writers such as Timaeus and Philinus, and shows itself in a fondness for *παράδοξα* and sensationalism. A part of this inheritance appears too in Fabius' general scheme—full for the origins of Rome, summary for the early 'historical' period, and fuller again for

<sup>1</sup> Gell. v. 18. 7 contrasts *res gestae* which *per annos scribuntur* (*annales*) with those written *per dies* (*diarium* or *ἡμερησίως*). Asellio of course distinguishes *annales*, written after the manner of those, *qui diarium scribunt*, from *res gestae a Romanis*, which show *quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent*.

<sup>2</sup> Verrius Flaccus' view won a certain following; it is also recorded by Servius, *ad Aen.* i. 373: 'inter historiam et annales hoc interest: historia est eorum temporum quae vel vidimus vel videre potuimus, dicta ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰστορεῖν i. q. videre. annales vero sunt eorum temporum, quae aetas nostra non novit.'

<sup>3</sup> F. 77 = Gell. ii. 28. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Momigliano, *JRS*, xxxiii, 1943, 102.

<sup>5</sup> Scullard, *History of the Roman World from*

753 to 146 B.C., 417.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 2, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Römische Forschungen*, ii. 363, n. 113; cf. Schanz-Hosius, *op. cit.* i. 171.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Polyb. xiv. 12. 1 ff., giving the reasons why Polybius made the reign of Ptolemy Philopator an exception to his normal practice of writing κατ' ἐνιαυτόν: xxxii. 11. 3 ff. His method was thus a practical compromise between the Thucydidean διαλειπὸς κατ' ἐνιαυτοῦς (in fact κατὰ θύρην καὶ χειμῶνας) and the arrangement κατὰ γένος, which Ephorus adopted in polemical opposition to his predecessor. On this see H. Bloch, *Athenian Studies presented to W. S. Ferguson* (1940), 308-16.

<sup>9</sup> See too Zimmerman, *Klio*, xxvi, 1933, 257 ff.; Kornemann, *Hist. Zeit.* clxv, 1932, 287.

contemporary events—a scheme found not only in Cincius, Cato, and Ennius,<sup>1</sup> but also in the *Περικλῆς* of Ctesias, and the *Ἀθηναίων* of, for example, Hellanicus and many of the Atthidographers.<sup>2</sup> But for much of Fabius' history there can have been no Greek sources, but only the raw, indigenous material, the Fasti, pontifical records, lists of magistrates, and family traditions, *tituli, elogia, laudationes*,<sup>3</sup> written in crabbed and halting Latin, formal in expression, repetitive and entirely lacking in literary pretensions. It is surely going too far to suggest that Fabius showed no trace of all this, no reflection of his Roman sources or the traditional background of his own senatorial circle, that on the contrary he sprang up all armed *à la grecque*, like Pallas from the head of Zeus.

The political purpose of Fabius and his immediate successors is established: that is Gelzer's achievement. But annalists they remained, *exiles* in style, *non exornatores rerum sed tantummodo narratores* (Cic. *de orat.* ii. 54), writing usually *per annos* (like Thucydides, as well as Valerius Antias), but occasionally modifying their scheme (like Polybius), probably prefacing the account of each year with the jejune details of elections, prodigies, and priesthoods (like Livy), sometimes following their Hellenistic models into the realm of 'tragic' history, but more often recording the simple details of campaigns culled from their Roman sources—in short, the legitimate and recognizable offspring of third- and second-century Rome.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vahlen, *Enn.*<sup>2</sup> praef. clxxiv. Ennius devoted the first three of his eighteen books to the kings, and by the sixth book had reached Pyrrhus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Peter, *HRR*, lxxiv. See further F. Jacoby, P-W, s.v. 'Hellānikos (7)', cols. 138-42; L. Pearson, *The Local Historians of Attica* (1942), 8; Jacoby, P-W, s.v. 'Ktesias (1)', cols. 2040 ff.; R. Laqueur, P-W, s.v. 'Lokalchronik',

especially cols. 1092 ff., who stresses the emphasis given to epic and myth in the Atthides. Androtion and Philochorus (whom Peter mentions) are in this respect hardly typical; they pay much less attention to the earlier period, especially Androtion. See also H. Bloch, *op. cit.* 344-6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte*, 96-8.

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## KRITIAS AND HERODES

THE purpose of this paper is to put forward the hypothesis that the author of 'Herodes *περί πολιτείας*'<sup>1</sup> is Kritias. The speech bears Herodes' name: did Herodes' well-known interest in Kritias amount to the transcription of a whole speech? The speech concerns Thessalian affairs at approximately the time when Kritias was in Thessaly: is it exactly the time? and is the tone what we would expect Kritias' tone to be? We have much description of Kritias' prose style, and a few verbatim fragments: does the style of this speech correspond?

On these (or indeed other) lines, I hope the hypothesis may be further tested and either refuted or confirmed. The identification would add materially to our knowledge both of the speech and of Kritias: I hope the inquiry may at least help our understanding of them.

### A. THE SUPERScription

The speech is preserved for us in a manuscript of the thirteenth century now in the British Museum (Burneianus 95). The bulk of the manuscript (150 pages out of 170) is taken up with the speeches of Andokides, Isaios, Deinarchos, Antiphon, Lykourgos: as a sort of appendix it has a miscellany of pieces under the names Gorgias, Alkidamas, Lesbonax, and finally our speech, which is headed *ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ*. Three fifteenth-century manuscripts (which appear to be simply copied from this, and henceforth I will disregard them) repeat this superscription.<sup>2</sup> Herodes, to whom the speech is thus ascribed, is no doubt Herodes Atticus, the sophist of the second century A.D. We have no other works of his.

It was not till near the end of last century that this superscription was questioned. Beloch in 1897, in the first edition of his *Griechische Geschichte*, ii, p. 132, note 2, stated his belief that the author was no sophist of Roman date but a contemporary of the events discussed, that is, of about 400 B.C.: Ed. Meyer in 1902 agreed (*GdA* v, pp. 56-8). Suspicion so far was confined to the author's name, *ΗΡΩΔΟΥ*: it was left to a defender of Herodes' authorship (see p. 24, n. 2) to doubt whether the speech's title, *ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ*, was authentic. The speech is not about a form of government but about an issue of foreign policy: as announced in §§ 2-4, it is an issue of peace or war: in concrete terms it is whether Larisa should join Sparta in a war against Archelaos of Macedon. Forms of government are incidentally discussed in a short passage in §§ 30-1.<sup>3</sup> These 10 lines (out of over 200) are indeed both difficult and interesting,

<sup>1</sup> The speech is published in REISKE's *Oratores Graeci*, vol. viii; Bekker's *Oratores Attici*, vol. iv (Oxford), vol. v (Berlin); Dobson's *Oratores Attici*, vol. iv (with DOBREE'S *Adversaria*, pp. xx-xxi); K. Müller's *Oratores Attici*, vol. ii: also separately by HASS, *De Herodis Attici oratione περί πολιτείας* (Leipzig, 1880); DRERUP [*Ἡρώδου*] *περί πολιτείας*, in *Studien z. Gesch. und Kult. d. Alt.* ii. 1 (Paderborn, 1908: the most serviceable text); MEYER, *Theopomp's Hellenika*, pp. 201 ff. (Halle, 1909: his text is substantially a reprint of Drerup's with less apparatus). I refer to the works of Reiske, Dobree, Hass, Drerup, Meyer, by the author's name only: for the discussions by Beloch, Adcock, Knox, Morrison, see p. 22, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> I take this account of the MSS., and all my

knowledge of them, from Drerup, pp. 1-2 and his *apparatus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἰσως ἂν τις εἴπῃ . . . πολυτεύεσθαι*. This is a sub-section of the wider question discussed in §§ 28-31: 'what have we to apprehend from Sparta's known behaviour? She does not bully her neighbours: *someone may say that she demands oligarchy, but that is nothing to fear*: so her known behaviour gives no cause for apprehension.' This section is enclosed between its opening and closing sentences: *ἐκ πόλεων χρηὴ παραδειγμάτων ὀρρωδεῖν; . . . παραδείγματα τοιαῦτα παρεχόμενους ὀρρωδεῖν οὐκ εἰκός*. Incidentally this puts the meaning of *παραδείγματα* in § 31 beyond question and makes it unlikely that *παραδείγμα* *ibid.* is used in another sense.

and no reader forgets them. When the speech's main issue, Sparta versus Archelaos, was dead (as it soon was), no doubt these 10 lines which boost a certain type of oligarchy retained their interest. Unless the superscription is irrelevant altogether, the words *περὶ πολιτείας* are no doubt somehow connected with the peculiar interest of this short passage.

The passage has of course no interest at all if it is the work of a Hadrianic sophist. If, as I believe, it is the work of Kritias, it is intensely interesting. Herodes Atticus was a devotee of Kritias and 'brought his works to the notice of the reading public':<sup>1</sup> sc. he either edited them, or perhaps wrote essays on them which may have involved extensive quotations—we may imagine something not quite so serious as Dionysios, not so childish as Athenaeus. I suggest, as one way of accounting for our superscription, that Herodes included this speech in his work on Kritias in a sub-section of it to which he gave the title *περὶ πολιτείας*. The passage in question would justify his placing it under that head. There are of course other possibilities: Herodes may have written a treatise of his own *On Government* in which he quoted this speech (again in virtue of §§ 30–1). Some such hypothesis (we do not have to determine exactly which) would spare us the double absurdity of supposing that our speech was composed by Herodes<sup>2</sup> and that its own title was *περὶ πολιτείας*.

#### B. THE AUTHOR

##### (a) *Not Thrasy machos*

In previous discussions the name most mentioned has been Thrasy machos. He has been suggested as the author or else (by those who hold to Herodes' authorship) as the source of information.<sup>3</sup>

We have two fragments of Thrasy machos' speeches.<sup>4</sup> First, a long passage from the opening of a speech which shows remarkable resemblances to the opening of ours. I will call it the 'longer fragment'. The title *περὶ πολιτείας* which has been attached to it in Diels and elsewhere has no authority and is unfortunate: while not so glaringly inapposite as the same title is to our speech, it is in no way apposite, and it is confusing (to say the least) that it should bear the title which our speech already bears. The second fragment, a hostile reference to Archelaos, is from a speech entitled *ὕπὲρ Λαρισαίων*. Both fragments are thus rather closely related to our speech: the longer fragment, while on a different subject, opens in a very similar manner; the other is on a very similar subject. Neither, however, is part of our speech: our writer (a) closely imitates the opening of a speech by Thrasy machos on a different topic, and (b) writes a speech on a topic on which Thrasy machos was also to write.<sup>5</sup> This is interesting, but not surprising if the two writers are contemporary: we see the same thing, e.g. in Pindar and Bakchylides, or Sophokles and Euripides. And

<sup>1</sup> Philostratos in his *Life of Herodes (vitae sophistarum*, ii. 1), § 14: τῷ δὲ Κριτίῳ καὶ προσετιθήκει καὶ παράγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐς ἡθῆναι Ἑλλήνων τέως ἀμελοῦμενον.

<sup>2</sup> This seems 'absurd' to me. On the general problem of how to distinguish a real from a bogus speech I may refer to Meyer's excellent pages, 209–18. As a 'work of art' our speech is incredible. A sophistic speech puts all its cards on the table and is nothing if not explicit: our speech is maddeningly allusive: contrast e.g. the naïve ὑφ' ὧν δ' ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ in Gorgias' *Palamedes* 16 with the gloss-provoking ὃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς λοχούμεν of 'Herodes', § 32. Among examples of the transitional idiom of c. 400 B.C.

I note the use of ξενικῷ πόλεμῳ for 'foreign war' in § 11, whereas ξένους in § 15 is 'mercenaries'.

<sup>3</sup> Nestle, *N. Jahrb.*, 1903, pp. 191 ff.; Köhler, *SB Berlin* xxvi, 1893, 504–7: id. ib. 1895, 457. Cf. Meyer, p. 213, n. 1, Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokratiker*<sup>6</sup>, n. on 85 B 2.

<sup>4</sup> Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokratiker*<sup>6</sup>, 85 B 1–2.

<sup>5</sup> I assume that Thrasy machos' longer fragment is earlier than our speech, whereas the *ὕπὲρ Λαρισαίων* is later. I discuss the date of the *ὕπὲρ Λαρισαίων* in my text: the occasion of the longer fragment is clearly before the fall of Athens (Athens is still at war, and is ridden by faction: sometime between 413 and 405).

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though we have less to judge from, I believe that here too imitator and model are very different personalities.

The *ὅπερ Λαρισαίων* ought (to judge by its title) to plead for the Larisans before some other party. *A priori* one might expect the speaker, like the audience, to be non-Larisan: so e.g. Demosthenes speaks in Athens *ὅπερ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν*: but the use of the first person plural in our only fragment shows that the speaker is a Larisan, like the Plataean speaker of Isokrates' *Πλαταικός*. A Larisan, then, pleads his city's case: probably at Sparta. There are many such speeches in Thucydides and other historians. In our single fragment ('shall we submit to Archelaos?') an undesirable alternative policy is mooted; it is as if the Korkyran were to say at Athens (Thuc. 1. 36. 3) 'shall we hand our fleet to Korinth?', or the Athenian at Sparta (Herodotos, 9. 11. 1) 'shall we accept Mardonios' offer?' or the Korinthian at Sparta (Thuc. 1. 71. 4) 'shall we seek another hegemon?' or the Pharsalian Polydamas at Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1. 13-14) 'shall I take Jason's terms?': the question is addressed to the foreign audience, and is either an appeal *ad misericordiam* or a threat. It seems to me most likely that the audience is Spartan<sup>1</sup> and that the situation is that caused by the Eclipse Battle:<sup>2</sup> Larisa is asking Sparta to protect her against Lykophron, otherwise she will have to come to terms with Archelaos.

Of what party in Larisa is the speaker of the *ὅπερ Λαρισαίων*? I imagine the Aleuad party, the party which had opposed the speaker of the 'Herodes' speech. They had declined in the earlier part of 404 to join a Spartan alliance against Archelaos; but the Eclipse Battle has turned them from choosers into beggars. Before that defeat no doubt they could have had support from Archelaos on good terms;<sup>3</sup> now Archelaos was grooming his own pretender, Hellanokrates (cf. Morrison, p. 70).

Is the *ὅπερ Λαρισαίων* written for a real occasion? is it, like Lysias 34 (and, as I believe, the 'Herodes' speech), written by a professional writer for a speaker in a real debate? or is it, like Isokrates' *Plataikos* or *Archidamos* (and, I believe, Thrasymachos' own longer fragment), a piece of high-class journalism, topical and intended to influence opinion, but fictional in form? The latter, I imagine:<sup>4</sup> but whether or no, it appears that Sparta did not help Larisa, which turned accordingly not to Archelaos but to Kyros (Xen. *Anab.* 1. 2. 1; cf. Morrison, p. 66, n. 3).

The 'Herodes' speech, then, cannot be the same as Thrasymachos' *ὅπερ Λαρισαίων*. It is complete, and does not contain the sentence which is quoted from Thrasymachos: it is *ad Larisaeos*, not *pro Larisaeis*. Those who contend that here is another speech by Thrasymachos on Larisan affairs have the burden of proof on them. There is no reason to think it is written on behalf of the same party: rather the contrary. Thrasymachos was certainly not the only sophist or speech-writer to whom Larisans could apply. There remains the longer fragment, and the remarkable echoes of it in the 'Herodes' speech: I submit that we see here one contemporary echoing another, not one writer repeating himself. Certain ideas are taken over, but the hard-bitten positivist tone of the 'Herodes' speech is as unlike the academic melancholy of Thrasymachos as can well be.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fragment shows that the audience cannot be Kyros.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 22. (For a summary of the speech, and for the general situation, see Morrison, pp. 69 ff.)

<sup>3</sup> Such is clearly the thesis of the opponents of the 'Herodes' speaker.

<sup>4</sup> From a title and one sentence it is rash to conclude very much: but Thrasymachos, like Gorgias and Isokrates, was an educationist, a purveyor of ideas, a 'philosopher', whereas

Lysias and Kritias were men of affairs.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, p. 280, n. 2, remarks that Thrasymachos' longer fragment 'operates throughout exactly as our speech does with the notion of *ἀνάγκη*'. I speak below in Section E of our author's use of *ἀνάγκη*: he welcomes it (§ 2 *ἀναγκαῖον καὶ προσήκον*, § 4 *πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ . . . δευτέρων δ' ὡς ἀναγκαῖον*), but Thrasymachos regards it as an evil (e.g. our sedition is the *necessary* result of folly). The difference appears to me fundamental. Even in

(b) *Perhaps Kritias?*

Many dates have been proposed for the 'Herodes' speech:<sup>1</sup> this has been used as an argument by the supporters of Herodes' authorship, who apparently forget how frequently this has happened to documents which are beyond all question contemporary and authentic.<sup>2</sup> Our science is not exact enough to prevent many wrong answers being offered; yet we may hope by repeated inquiry to eliminate them. It may perhaps now be taken as certain that the situation of the 'Herodes' speech is after the battle of Aigospotamoi. Athens is mentioned, but as a factor in the past, and in such a way as to show that she is wholly absent from the 'parallelogram of forces' of the present (§§ 19-20). On the other hand, it is before Archelaos' death in 399. Within these fairly narrow limits, the decisive question is, is it before or after the Eclipse Battle?—that is, the defeat of Larisa by Lykophron in September 404 (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 4). *After*, according to Beloch and Meyer, who put it in 400/399; *before*, according to Drerup and Morrison, who therefore put it in 404. We owe this sharp formulation of the issue to Morrison (pp. 73-4), and I have little doubt he gives the right answer. The battle of the Eclipse involved great slaughter (Xen. loc. cit.), and Lykophron and Larisa were still at war in 395 (Diod. 14. 82. 5): after September 404 Lykophron was a factor which the speaker could not (as he does) simply ignore.<sup>3</sup>

Meyer's most positive argument against Drerup is the mention of Elis in § 28: 'this presupposes the war of 402-400, for not till then did Elis rejoin the Peloponnesian League' (p. 272). This mention of Elis is a famous stumbling-block: it is in fact Adcock's chief weapon<sup>4</sup> in his proof that the speech can have no real date. I cannot quite accept Morrison's solution (p. 72, n. 4) that Elis rejoined the Spartan alliance before 414: why in that case did Elis provide no ships in 413 (Thuc. 8. 3. 2)? Nor do I much believe in my own solution of twenty years back (*JHS* xliv, p. 61, n. 25) that *\*Ηλείους* is a corruption due to *πλείους* immediately above. But is perhaps the whole thing a mare's nest? The speaker neither says nor (that I see) implies that Elis is in the Spartan League. He is meeting the contention that Archelaos is preferable to

the opening argument, so nearly identical (note *ἐβουλόμην μὲν* in § 3 and in Thrasymachos), the tone has this essential difference: 'I think some God has had us in his especial care' our author says: Thrasymachos says 'since God has brought us to this pass'.

<sup>1</sup> BELOCH *GG* iii. 2. 16-18 (400/399), Costanzi, *Studi ital. d. filol. class.* vii. 137-59 (410/409), Drerup (404), Meyer (400/399), MORRISON, *C. Q.* xxxvi. 68 ff. (404): ADCOCK and KNOX in *Klio*, xiii. 249 ff., Münscher in Pauly-Wissowa, viii. 952-3 (art. 'Herodes'), Wilamowitz in *SB Berlin*, 1925, p. 335, n. 5, and others, regard it as a product of Roman times (Herodes Atticus) whose dramatic date is incapable of being fixed. I refer to the works of Beloch, Morrison, Adcock, Knox, by the author's name only: for Drerup and Meyer, see p. 19, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Morrison, p. 68, n. 3: 'This principle would prove that e.g. the Decrees of Callias and the Pirate Law on the Aemilius Paulus monument at Delphi were spurious'. I might add the ps.-Xenophon's *\*Aθ. πολ.*, or will someone say that this too is by a Roman sophist? Adcock's *jeu d'esprit*, in which he undertakes to prove that

no date *could* be right, is more reasonable: but he has nothing against 404 except the Eleans in § 28, for whom see pp. 22-3.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer, p. 268, n. 1, seeks to meet this by saying that there is no proof that Lykophron was yet supported by Sparta (as he certainly was in 395, Diod. loc. cit.). The hypothesis of Drerup and Morrison, that he was already on the Spartan side in 404, and that his attack was a consequence of our speaker's policy being rejected, seems to me good and economical; but it is not essential to their decisive argument viz. that his action (whatever its nature) could not simply be disregarded, as it is in e.g. § 13. [After the battle, if Lykophron were Sparta's ally, Larisa might still look to Sparta for protection, much as Finland has done to America: this was, I conceive, the plea of the *ἐνὲρ Λαρισαίων* (see above)—an unsuccessful plea.]

<sup>4</sup> Adcock puts the Elis War in 399-397, so that Archelaos is dead before Elis 'rejoins the League'. Cary in *CAH* vi, p. 33, puts it in 401-399. Though it is indifferent to my view of the 'Herodes' speech, I think Meyer's date for the war is right (sc. 402-400).

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Sparta, and he says that propinquity to Sparta (*ἀστυγείτονας ὄντας*) has not had as unpleasant results for Elis as propinquity to Archelaos (*τοιούτος ὢν πρόσσικος* § 26) has had in Larisa.<sup>1</sup> I do not mean to be unreasonably literal. Argos too was on the borders of Laconia, as Elis and Arkadia were, and Argos is not named; so that (unless we have the historical blunder which Adcock supposes) it was in some way more reasonable to name Elis than Argos. As I understand it, the speaker does regard Sparta as having more pretensions in Elis than in Argos: but he claims that these pretensions have not led her to behave like Archelaos. Well: *after* the Sparta-Elis war, Elis was not much evidence for Sparta's niceness as a neighbour: the main grievance against Archelaos was that he had robbed Larisa of her *perioikis* (§ 6); and that is just what Sparta did to Elis in 400. But *before* that war, the speaker's language is not unnatural: although we do not know Elis' exact status,<sup>2</sup> the Spartan demand that she should pay her share of the cost of the war against Athens (Diod. 14. 17. 5) shows that Sparta did not recognize Elis to be as independent as Argos, and our speaker of course shares that view.

If the speech was written in 404 (a few months at least must have passed since Aigospotamoi), and before the September eclipse, then there is no reason of *date* why Kritias should not be the author. There are many considerations which suggest him: he was an oligarch of just that temper, he was in Thessaly at just that time, and the fact that he was Herodes' favourite author might have some bearing on the manuscript title *Ἡρώδου περὶ πολιτείας*. The reasons he has never been suggested are perhaps two: first, a certain misapprehension of Kritias' political colour, before his last phase (see below); secondly, the style of our speech. Drerup gives a short

<sup>1</sup> In § 29 I suggest (p. 31) ὥσπερ οὖν ἐνθάδε Μακεδόνες, which reinforces this point: but my argument does not depend upon this correction. The speaker is in either case contrasting Sparta and Archelaos as neighbours, and the ὥσπερ clause either points (ὥσπερ οὖν) or modifies (ὥσπερ οὐδ') the contrast.

<sup>2</sup> Diodoros 14. 17. 5 says τὰς δαπάνας τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτοῖς μέρος ἀπῆρουν: Elis is treated like an Athenian tributary who is in arrears [for ἀπαιτεῖν see Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *ATL*, pp. 212-13]. The contrast with Thuc. 8. 3. 2 is interesting: Elis was clearly seeking to establish her claim to a religious neutrality (Diod. loc. cit., perhaps preferable to Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 22), and it looks as if Sparta did not insist on ships or service but did insist on payment: or is it (more simply) that after Aigospotamoi Sparta felt stronger? Since our speech is certainly after Aigospotamoi, our argument does not require us to choose between these alternatives: but the problem is interesting. It might be maintained that Sparta's demand in 402 was a bolt from the blue, and that up till then no one could have dreamt that Elis was less independent than Argos: but this seems to me unlike Spartan diplomacy. The spokesman of Elis in most of the negotiations was no doubt Hippas, who appears to have dwelt on the early history of the two states (Plato, *Hippias mai.* 281 B, 285 D, E): I have little doubt that the very

remarkable theories about Elis' 'sacred neutrality' which Ephoros recorded (*F. gr. Hist.* 70 F 115) are the theories advanced by Hippas in this context. The thesis is that Sparta had guaranteed the neutrality in old days. Whether (as I believe) these theories were embodied in Hippas' *Olympionikai* need not be discussed here: I have elsewhere urged that it was in the *Olympionikai* that the famous diskos was first published (*C.Q.* xxxviii, p. 5, n. 3); it proved that Lykourgos of Sparta had joined in guaranteeing the Sacred Truce. Elis' claim to neutrality is perhaps further illustrated by *IvO* 30 (= *IGA* 105 cum addendis) εδοξεν Ἀλαιοῖν | Διφίλων τον Ἀθαν[α]ϊον Μελανοπο ἡνυν | προξενον και ενεργε[ι]ταν τον Ἀλειον γραφε[ι]αν εν Ολυμπια εδοξεν. The Ἀλαιοι take their decision in Olympia (the punctuation in ll. 1 and 6 is mine, but it seems necessary): they must surely be the Eleans. Dipphilos, of a famous family of kaloi and strategoi, is no doubt Laches' brother, and no doubt the same man as the strategos who was stationed at Naupaktos in 413, Thuc. 7. 34. 3. I suspect his Elean proxy is connected with that strategia. The arrival of Alkibiades' πλοῖον φορηγηκὸν at Kyllene (Thuc. 6. 88. 9) is quite consistent with neutrality: the presence of Korinthian hoplites in Pheia (ib. 7. 31. 1) is perhaps more of a borderline case, but cf. Ephoros loc. cit. τοὺς δι' αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας ἰόντας στρατοπέδω τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας ἀπολαμβάνειν μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐκβασιν.

characterization of Kritias' style, based on the extant fragments, and concludes that our speech is in most respects 'the exact opposite' (p. 66): it is, more positively, in 'a style like Gorgias' (p. 67).<sup>1</sup> I confess these determinations surprise me: in the next section I put my case for thinking it the sort of speech Kritias might have written for a Thessalian speaker.

Drerup believes (p. 113) that the speech was primarily intended for an Athenian public: it was a contribution to the discussions *περί πολιτείας* which preceded the establishment of the Thirty. Not primarily, I think: primarily it was for use by a real Larisan on a real occasion, as much as Lysias 34 was for use by a real Athenian on a similar occasion. The Thessalian context is not 'halbdunkel' (not, at least, in the sense that the hearer's attention is not closely invited to it): it is hard for us to grasp and define just because it is taken for granted as real and we are plunged in *medias res*. But secondarily, yes: no Athenian oligarch could read § 30 in the circumstances of 404 without taking to himself the words *τοιαύτην γε, οἷαν ἡμεῖς εὐχόμενοι πολλὸν χρόνον καὶ ποθοῦντες, ὀλίγον χρόνον ἰδόντες, ἀφηρέθημεν*: cf. Thuc. 8. 97. 2, Ar. 'Ath. π. 34. 1. [The very next words, *εἰ δὲ προσήκει ὀλιγαρχίας λέγειν ἐκείνας πρὸς τὰς ἐνθάδε*, show that Athens is secondary, Larisa primary.] And the 'hoplite' basis of citizenship in § 31 recalls the Athenian oligarchic doctrine (e.g. Thuc. 8. 97. 1), and the juxtaposition of *χρήμασι*—*σώμασι* in § 4, though in a non-political context, recalls the same doctrine (Thuc. 8. 65. 3, etc.). It is these interesting marks of the writer's political prepossessions which account (I believe) for the curious superscription *περί πολιτείας*:<sup>2</sup> the question now is, were they Kritias' prepossessions?

Kritias' known activities in 411/410 are two: he was responsible for two motions, one recalling Alkibiades from exile, one pronouncing the dead Phrynichos guilty of treason. Plut. *Alc.* 33. 1, Lycurg. in *Leocr.* 113. He was thus not only an active member of the 5,000, but one of those who eagerly dissociated themselves from the specific policies of the 400.<sup>3</sup> In view of his later record (especially his endorsement, early in 403, of the Eetioneia policy: 'Ath. π. 37. 1) it was easy to lose sight of this, and the ps.-Dem. in 58. 67 makes him the author of the Eetioneia policy in 411. Inevitably: to a fourth-century orator, Kritias was a conventional villain (Dem. 24. 90, Aeschin. 1. 173), and few cared to remember the 'respectable' Kritias of 411.<sup>4</sup> But his

<sup>1</sup> Philostratos says that Kritias could adapt Gorgias' manner to his own style by adding *εὐγλωττία*: *Epist.* 73 (see p. 28, n. 5). If I have rightly understood this phrase, it seems to me a very exact account of what we have here: the antithetical and sometimes purple style, but kept closer to natural speech.

<sup>2</sup> The acute Dobree wished to correct the title to *περί πολέμου*: *an e compendio no i.e. πολέμου?* Münscher, in Pauly-Wissowa, viii, p. 952, speaks of 'den Titel *περί πολιτείας* der wohl nicht vom Verfasser stammt': he maintains Herodes' authorship, but does not explain how the superscription came to be right in one particular but wrong in the other.

<sup>3</sup> Alkibiades was recalled, presumably on Kritias' motion, immediately the 5,000 took power (Thuc. 8. 97. 3): the 400 had refused to recall him (8. 70. 1) and Alkibiades (now at Samos) had declared against the 400 and for the 5,000 (8. 86. 6). The fortress at Eetioneia was the answer of the 400 to the threats of Alkibiades from Samos (90. 1-3), and it was suspected that

they meant not only to keep Alkibiades out but to let the Spartans in (90. 3). Phrynichos was one of the chief authors of this plan (90. 1) and went on the embassy to Sparta which was believed to be treasonable and for which Antiphon was later condemned to death by the 5,000: on his return Phrynichos was assassinated (92. 2), and the rioters demolished the Eetioneia fortress (92. 4-11): to take part in demolishing Eetioneia ranged you with the 5,000 and Alkibiades, against the 400 and Phrynichos (92. 11). It is thus certain that ps.-Demosthenes is wrong in calling Kritias a pro-Eetioneia man in 411: Eetioneia was, as Kritias recognized, the acid test, and in 411 he took one side, in 403 the other. —In view of Thuc. 8. 97. 3, there can be no doubt that Xenophon is wrong in saying that Alkibiades was still an exile in 407 (or 408?) just before his return to Athens (*Hell.* 1. 4. 10). Kritias' motion for Alkibiades, like his motion against Phrynichos, clearly belongs to 411.

<sup>4</sup> 'If you want to praise Kritias,' says Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3. 16, 1416<sup>b</sup>28), 'you have to tell the

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contemporary Xenophon is concerned to account for the change: it was his sojourn in Thessaly which spoiled the good of his earlier association with Sokrates (*Mem.* 1. 2. 24). Xenophon's explanation is moralistic and naïve and *ex parte*. It was the opportunity which was new: Kritias was ruined by the temptation to make party capital out of his country's defeat. The process may have begun while he was in Thessaly. Our speech shows whole-hearted Lakonism and a thirst for revenge—disquieting symptoms:<sup>1</sup> but its constitutional doctrine is consonant with Kritias' past and his immediate future, sc. his period of collaboration with Theramenes (*Xen. Hell.* 2. 3. 15).

What was Kritias doing in Thessaly? In exile certainly: he had quarrelled with Kleophon (*Ar. Rhet.* 1. 15. 13), and probably shared Alkibiades' fall (see p. 33, n. 1). Xenophon says he associated with lawbreakers (*ἀνομία χρωμένους*, *Mem.* 1.c.) and lets his enemy Theramenes say (*Hell.* 2. 3. 36) that he 'worked for democracy with Prometheus' and armed the Penestai against their masters'. Seeing what confidence Sparta reposed in him in 404, we must suspect that this 'democracy' was not extreme: he evidently helped an agrarian revolt against the Aleuads and their like,<sup>2</sup> and we may reasonably associate this with the attempted Larisan 'constitution' at which Gorgias (the Aleuads' friend) mocks,<sup>3</sup> and to which our speaker looks back fondly: a hoplite franchise.<sup>4</sup> From our speaker's words (*ἀφῆρέθημεν*, § 30) as well as from

whole story, for not many people know it.' Was his memory kept green in the Academy?

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that our speaker has to make out the case (sc. cannot take it for granted) that the sort of constitution which Sparta imposes is the same as the sort he has himself worked for. If Kritias is the author, and the speaker is one of his confederates [is he Prometheus? see next note], this may suggest that Kritias had at least not been a recognized Spartan agent in the years when Athens was still fighting Sparta. But this indication is far from certain: Kritias may have worked openly for Sparta and against Athens: and if he did, it would certainly have been demoralizing for a man of his temper (cf. his judgement on Kimon, *Vorsokr.* 88 B 52 = *Plut. Cim.* 16. 9).

<sup>2</sup> Is Prometheus our speaker? is this in fact a reference to the known circumstances of the *περί πολιτείας*?

<sup>3</sup> Morrison, p. 65 f.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle reports the jest, *Pol.* 3. 2, 1275<sup>b</sup>27, and adds τὰ μὲν ἴσως ἀπορῶν τὰ δ' εἰρωνεύμενος 'perhaps in some degree he really didn't know the answer, in some degree was pretending not to'. See Morrison, p. 71. I agree with Morrison that he is mocking the arbitrary choosiness of the demiourgoi, whose function seems to be more or less exactly that of the katalogeis of 411 at Athens: are the politophylakes of *Ar. Pol.* 1305<sup>b</sup>28 perhaps the successors of the demiourgoi? if so, the passage is illustrated by ps.-Lysias, 20. 13, cf. 2. [In Larisa, as in oligarchic Boeotia and in the Attic experiments, there was thus created (by exclusion) a new category, neither *politai* nor *xenoi*, whom I have proposed to call *hypomeiones*: cf. § 31 of our speech.] Gorgias (I

am assuming) not only taught the Aleuads and their friends, but shared their political outlook, sc. their attitude both to the Larisan *bourgeoisie* and to Archelaos. The remarkable and serious attack on Archelaos in Plato's *Gorgias* is surely no casual irrelevance: is it not due to Gorgias having identified himself with Archelaos' friends? *ὡς καλῶς οἶδε Πλάτων λαμβάνειν*. I feel confirmed in this by the fact that Antisthenes' *Archelaos* contains an attack on Gorgias (*Athen.* 220 d). Antisthenes, a cruder moralist than Plato, will surely have harped on Archelaos' enormities. Gorgias no doubt maintained they were irrelevant, and Polos' unskilful argument will be a travesty of this. [I suspect this is the plagiarism of Antisthenes of which Plato was accused by Theopompos (*F. gr. Hist.* 115 F 259 = *Athen.* 508 d): of minimal importance in the dialogue to us, it is just what Theopompos would notice.]

<sup>5</sup> Philostratos' words (in his *Life of Kritias* [*vitae sophistarum*, i. 16], § 2 = *Vorsokr.* 88 A 1), βαρυτέρας ἐποίησε τὰς ἀνιστορίας, can hardly be taken as a serious corrective of Xenophon's Theramenes. Philostratos is indeed combating Xenophon's thesis in *Mem.* 1. 2. 24 that Kritias was corrupted by the Thessalians, and he professes to base himself on what Kritias said in Thessaly: διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἐκεῖ δυνατοῖς καὶ καθαρτόμενος μὲν δημοκρατίας ἀπάσης διαβάλλον δ' Ἀθηναίους ὡς πλείστα ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτάνοντας. Has Philostratos been reading Kritias' Thessalian speeches (e.g. the 'Herodes' speech)? I doubt it. Just above he has said that Kritias βουλευματος . . . ἐνελάμβανεν ὡς μηλόβοτος ἢ Ἀττικὴ ἀποφανθείη [cf. *Isokr.* 14. 31]: this seems to me an obvious lie based on school declamations [cf. the subject for debate in Hermogenes,

Theramenes' (*ὅν μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο*) it seems not to have gone smoothly.<sup>1</sup>

Compared with the feudal serfdom of the Aleuads and the Menons (e.g. Dem. 23. 199) such a hoplite franchise could well be called 'democracy': our speaker himself asks 'if oligarchy be the name for it, compared with what we have here' (§ 30). Kritias in his *Constitution of Thessaly* blamed Thessaly's Medism on the extravagance of the Aleuads (*Vorsokrat.*<sup>2</sup> 88 B 31 = Athen. 663 a): our speaker in the same vein asks 'shall my opponents a second time involve Thessaly in disgrace?' (§ 22, 36).

Kritias, then, in Athens in 411 and in Thessaly later (from before Arginousai till after the surrender of Athens)<sup>2</sup> was an upholder of 'hoplite' oligarchy, of the sort which our speaker says that Sparta approves. This was the man who could start, in 404, by collaborating with Theramenes: what later drove him to his 'tyranny' and his death (revenge? fear?) is another story. This speech, which is before the eclipse of September 404, is well before his quarrel with Theramenes: I imagine it is written between the surrender of Athens in April (perhaps indeed a little before the surrender) and the establishment of the Thirty in September 404, and that Kritias, at the time of composition, either was in Thessaly or had left it very recently.<sup>3</sup>

It survived, not because everything Kritias wrote survived, still less because a political speech by a Larisan would survive; but because of the great interest of §§ 30-1 in the mouth of a man like Kritias. To contemporaries these lines touched on the vital issues at Athens; to Herodes perhaps they threw light on Kritias' constitutional theory. The first may have ensured its survival at the start: the second is perhaps responsible for its survival till to-day.

#### C. STYLE AND LANGUAGE

DRERUP after careful examination (pp. 36-65) concludes (p. 66) that the language and style of our speech are not Kritias'.<sup>4</sup> For comparison we have, first, the prose fragments of Kritias, and secondly, what the ancient critics say of his style. Neither is very helpful. Descriptions of a writer's style may be recognized as just if we have his works: when we have not, they may easily be misunderstood. The actual prose fragments are few, and those which can reasonably be thought to be quoted verbatim are far fewer still:<sup>5</sup> none of all of them is from a speech. Such as they are, they suggest two discrepancies: our speech uses -σσ- (not -ττ-), and avoids hiatus, the fragments do neither.

pp. 33-4 Rabe: 'Kritias has taken sanctuary with the Tyrannicides: shall he be dragged away?'] and I suspect a similar origin for these conversations with Thessalian magnates. I think little was known of Kritias' Thessalian visit beyond Xenophon's two passages (*Hell.* 2. 3. 36; *Mem.* 1. 2. 24): he was there at the time of Arginousai (*Hell.* l.c.) though he had been in Athens shortly before (see p. 33, note 1, below), the bulk of his exile was spent in Thessaly (*Mem.* l.c.), he probably came back when Athens surrendered (*Lysias* 12. 43 f.; *Andokides* 1. 80).

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Pol.* 1305<sup>b</sup>28, may refer to the duration of this hoplite constitution: see p. 25, n. 4, above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 25, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 25, n. 5. He would presumably not cut his Thessalian connexions at once.—I follow the chronology set out by G. Colin, *Xénophon historien d'après le livre II des Helléniques*,

1933 (*Annales de l'Est*), pp. 112-16. Surrender of Athens, April; the Thirty take office, September; Thrasyboulos in Phyle, December 404: death of Theramenes, February; of Kritias, May 403.

<sup>4</sup> He is rebutting the thesis [not that it is by Kritias himself, but] that it is by Herodes; who (he says) would imitate Kritias, whereas this speech does not. More positively he says (p. 67) it is in Gorgias' style (though not of course by Gorgias). I note that Philostratos says that Kritias, like Thucydides, shows Gorgias' influence: they both adapted his grand manner to their own style, Kritias by adding *εὐλωρία*. See p. 28, n. 5; p. 31, n. 4; p. 24, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Kritias' fragments are in Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokr.*<sup>6</sup> 88: the prose fragments are 88 B 31-73. Of these, 53-73 are single words: only 31-6, 39-40, 42, 44 contain sentences verbatim.

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The avoidance of hiatus (Drerup, pp. 55-7) is much stricter than in any extant passage of Gorgias: stricter even than Thrasymachos: comparable with the earliest Isokrates.<sup>1</sup> Few as Kritias' verbatim fragments are, they suffice to show he did not mind hiatus in his philosophic or historical writings (e.g. *Vorsokr.*<sup>5</sup> 88 B 33, 42). It may of course be that Kritias avoided hiatus in his speeches, though not in his other prose works: I am more inclined to think it is special to this speech (we have to remember that if it is by Kritias it must be one of the very latest of his works). Avoidance of hiatus, a feature of non-dactylic verse, came into prose with Gorgias and (still more) with the *prosa numerosa* of Thrasymachos: of the Attic orators of the first half of the fourth century Isokrates and Isaios practise it. Our speech (which is thus a very early example) is for export, and I suggest this early avoidance is a symptom of the taste of the export market.<sup>2</sup> The use of -σσ- may conceivably be the same: but the evidence here is far less satisfactory. The assertion that Kritias' prose fragments show -ττ- regularly (Drerup, p. 66) rests in fact on one single example, sc. *Θετταλικός* in *Vorsokr.*<sup>5</sup> 88 B 33 = Athen. 463 E: 88 B 31 and 37, which are commonly cited in support, are not strictly verbatim (*nudem* 41 a): and anyway all are from the single work, the *Politeiai*. Our speech has -σσ- usually, -ττ- once (§ 3). Since late writers (or at least their MSS.) are very indifferent to this matter of spelling,<sup>3</sup> it is uncertain whether this apparent discrepancy is a matter of *Textgeschichte*, or of the writer's (or writers') practice. The same is true of, e.g., Antiphon v and vi, where our manuscripts give -σσ- in v and -ττ- in vi: is this a real variation in Antiphon's practice, or is it an accident of transmission?<sup>4</sup> If we may trust the *prima facies* of our tradition, it looks as if -ττ- was vernacular 'Attic', and -σσ- a 'Hellenic' compromise, at a time when Attic was just beginning to be the language of

<sup>1</sup> Gorgias' fragments are in *Vorsokr.*<sup>5</sup> 82 B: Thrasymachos' *ibid.* 85 B. Of Isokrates, 18 gives perhaps the best comparison; it is still fifth century: 21 is notoriously exceptional, admitting hiatus freely.

<sup>2</sup> Plato had been close to Kritias at the time our speech was written (*Ep.* 7. 324 D), so that perhaps his words in *Meno* 70 A-B, 76 C-E, are specially in point, on Thessalian literary taste and how you had to cater for it. [I agree with Burnet that Kritias in the *Timaeus* and *Kritias* is our K.'s grandfather.] See too Philostratos *Epist.* 73: *παρ' οὗς τὸ ῥητορικὸν γοργιάζειν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχεν*: on Kritias' adaptation of Gorgias' style see p. 28, n. 5. We do not indeed know that Gorgias ever avoided hiatus as strictly as our speech does. He tolerates it in the *Epitaphios*, an early work: the *Palamedes*, where he tends to avoid it, is presumably a little later than Euripides' *Palamedes* of 415 (Ael. *VH* 2. 8): so that avoidance may well have been the modern practice in Thessaly by 404; the influence of Thrasymachos may have helped (cf. *Vorsokr.*<sup>5</sup> 85 B 2).

<sup>3</sup> Some papyri of Thucydides have -ττ-: on -σσ- in Alkidamas see Luria, *Riv. d. Fil.* liv, 1926, p. 220, n. 1. Athenaeus 151 d quotes *θαροαλέως* from Xenophon *Anab.* 7. 3. 29. Dionysios appears (for his own part) to write *γλώσσα* (*Ant.* R. 1. 66. 1, 67. 3) *γλώττα* (*ibid.* 1. 68. 1; 2. 7. 3-4) *θάλασσα* (1. 2. 3-4, 3. 3, 9. 1, 10. 1) *θάλαττα*

(1. 3. 5, etc.) quite indifferently: and in spite of Marcellinus *vit. Th.* 52, he quotes Thucydides as writing (1. 22. 4) *κτῆμα ἐς δὲ . . . σύγκειται* (*de comp.* 22). Whether himself or his copyists, the result is the same for us: but his habit of translating Herodotos into Attic suggests that he himself thought spelling unimportant to style, and that the 'scent of antiquity, to be essential, should breathe of something rarer than an odd arrangement of type' (Quiller-Couch, Preface to *Oxford Book of English Verse*, p. viii).

<sup>4</sup> Antiphon's spelling has been discussed e.g. by Luria, *op. cit.* (previous note), p. 220, n. 1, Rosenkranz, *op. cit.*, *infra* (next note), p. 144. The statistics for the orator always include the Tetralogies, but surely should not: whoever wrote them, they are no evidence for the language or style of Antiphon's actual pleadings. [See e.g. *Hermes*, lviii, p. 104.] Nor do I think much gained by including the single example from I (*ἔλασσον* in 1. 19); the curiously 'tragic' context (Klytaimnestra in 17, *ἐκπίνουσαν ὑστάτην πόσιν* in 20, the general tone of 19 itself) makes it rather unsafe to build on. The important statistics are from V and VI, and roughly we may say -σσ- is regular in V, -ττ- in VI. This materially alters the look of things: moreover, the common view that VI is later than V (and thus -ττ- a modernism) is not certain nor even very probable: Meritt wishes to date VI to 419 (*AFD*, p. 174) and V is probably later than that.

all Greece.<sup>1</sup> In the fourth century, after Thucydides and Gorgias (who use -σσ-), the pure vernacular (-ττ-) became the norm: but -σσ- reappears in Hellenistic Greek (e.g. Chares of Mytilene, *F. gr. Hist.* 125). The use of -σσ- in a speech to be spoken by a Thessalian in Thessaly is in line with this.

Apart from these two concessions to the 'Hellenic' speaker and audience, is our speech in what we may suppose to be Kritias' style? The fragments, few and indistinctive as they are, plain description mostly and not argument, show a style more abrupt and less insinuating than Xenophon or Lysias or Isokrates: e.g. B 32, 34 (the famous *asyndeton*, see below), cf. 46, 47: but there is little room in them<sup>2</sup> for the speed and energy of thought which mark our speech (a speed and energy not quite comparable with Thucydides', though enough [e.g. §§ 9-10] to endanger the lucidity at which the careful antitheses aim). Falling back on the ancient critics, we find, I believe, that our speech accords closely with Philostratos' account of Kritias' style.<sup>3</sup> Our author *βραχυλογεῖ ἱκανῶς*, and *δευῶς καθάπτεται ἐν ἀπολογίᾳ ἡθεῖ*:<sup>4</sup> when he seeks *τὸ σεμνόν* (as e.g. in the purple patch, §§ 16-18) he is capable *σεμνολογῆσαι οὐ τὴν διθυραμβώδη σεμνολογίαν*, building his effect out of *κυριώτατα ὀνόματα*.<sup>5</sup> The exact degree of his 'Atticism' is no doubt hard to gauge: the *πνεῦμα* (ἐλλιπέστερον μὲν, ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ λεῖον), especially when balanced against the *σκληρότερος λόγος* of another critic,<sup>6</sup> may perhaps be recognized in a certain rather gauche restraint, an avoidance of climax. Philostratos' two most interesting points, the *Κριτίου ὥρα* and *Κριτίου ἀγών*, being allusive and perhaps slightly corrupt, are worth quoting in full:

(a) *καὶ τὸ ἀσυνδέτως δὲ <χωρίον> χωρίῳ προσβαλεῖν Κριτίου ὥρα.*

The divergence of V and VI, then, may be due to their having a different *Textgeschichte*: if it is due to Antiphon himself, it may be that -σσ- in V is 'hellenism' (see the next note), suited to Antiphon's foreign client. No doubt he often had foreign clients and therefore often 'hellenized'. [It is perhaps worth noting that in Vogel's statistics of *Kürzenmeidung*, *Hermes*, lviii, pp. 87 ff., 'Herodes' 33.5 per cent. disregard is high, but is pretty exactly the same as Antiphon v, Lysias xxiv and xxx.]

<sup>1</sup> The problem of -ττ- and -σσ- is discussed by Rosenkranz 'Der lokale Grundton und die persönliche Eigenart in der Sprache des Thukydides und der älteren attischen Redner' (sc. down to Andokides; excluding Lysias, etc.), in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xlviii, 1930, pp. 144-5, with statistics from early Attic writers. He concludes (p. 145): 'wer speziell für Athen schrieb, wählte TT: das gilt für die Inschriften, Reden, politischen Schriften und dergl. Dagegen scheinen die Autoren, die für ihre Werke auf das gesamte griechische Publikum rechneten, die Schreibweise ZZ vorgezogen zu haben, da TT als Provinzialismus erschien'. Our speech (which he does not take into account) fits well into this. I use the terms 'hellenize', 'Hellenic' on the strength of Posidippus Comicus fr. 28 Kock, to which Jacoby drew my notice: a Thessalian, blamed for his bad Attic, claims the right of Greeks at large to 'hellenize'.

<sup>2</sup> Occasional turns of phrase (e.g. B 44 καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτων αἰσχιστον, § 22 καὶ τὸ μέγιστον) are not very distinctive. [In view of the irony in § 22 *fin*.

should we put a question mark after *φήμην* in this fragment?]

<sup>3</sup> In his *Life of Kritias* (*vitae sophistarum*, i. 16), § 4 = *Vorsokr.* 88 A 1.

<sup>4</sup> 'His attack is formidable when his tone is defensive': cf. §§ 1-4, 25-33. This is one facet of the *Κριτίου ἀγών* (p. 29, with n. 3), if my insertion of <μή> in that passage be correct.

<sup>5</sup> In *Epist.* 73 (= *Vorsokr.* 82 B 35, 88 B 17) Philostratos makes a very similar point: Gorgias' grand manner was adapted (cf. p. 31, n. 4) by Thucydides and Kritias, Thucydides converting it into his own by *ρώμη*, Kritias by *εὐγλωττία*. This is no doubt similar to the *καυμική εὐγλωττία* so much admired in Herodes (Philostr. *vit. soph.* 2. i. 14): the racy idiom of natural speech, as seen e.g. in good dialogue in a novel. The 'Herodes' speech has, I believe, exactly this: an archaist might find it more telling than Gorgias because closer to real speech [asyndeton, 'Kritias' own beauty' is, in its simplest form, a mark of comic style: in our speech, §§ 6, 7, 8, 10, 16, etc.]. To use *καυμική* for interpreting what Philostratos meant by Kritias' *εὐγλωττία*, is not of course to suggest that Kritias copied comedy: both copied life. The word no doubt suggested (to Philostratos) New Comedy rather than the fantastic vocabulary of Old: it is amusing to compare the closing words of § 31 (in a typical comic rhythm) with, e.g., Ar. *Knights* 878. [See below, on § 31.]

<sup>6</sup> Aristides, *Ars rhet.* 2. 15 = *Vorsokr.* 88 B 46.



(δ) καὶ τὸ παραδόξως μὲν ἐνθυμηθῆναι <μὴ> παραδόξως δὲ ἀπαγγεῖλαι Κριτίου ἀγών.<sup>1</sup> 'Kritias' beauty<sup>2</sup> lies in his asyndeton: his power,<sup>3</sup> in his combination of a daring originality of thought with a reasonableness (normality) of expression.' Κριτίου ὦρα and Κριτίου ἀγών are evidently allusions to some well-known critique of Kritias' style: no doubt Herodes'. In further detail—

(a) Is this simple 'asyndeton' (e.g. §§ 6–7, the clauses ἔχει μὲν γε χώραν . . . , μία μὲν αὐτῇ πρόφασις . . . , begin without a conjunction: cf. § 8 διὰ ταῦτα . . . , § 10 οὕτω μὲν . . . , § 16 τούτων πάντων, and cf. below on § 3 δοκεῖ δὴ μοι . . . , § 17 τότε [Reiske] καὶ τοῖς γέρονσιν . . . )? or is it rather wider, what Drerup calls (p. 55) 'Unbeholfenheit der Satzfügung'?<sup>4</sup> Both are characteristic, both of the fragments and of our speech.

(b) As corrected (with insertion of <μὴ>) this is appropriate to our speech: the speaker's values are very individual in fact, but his manner implies they are self-evident. The uncorrected text is perhaps defensible:<sup>5</sup> to me it seems weak in itself, not much of an ἀγών, and it also combines rather ill with the πνεῦμα ἡδὺν καὶ λεῖον which immediately follows. [See also p. 28, n. 4.]

Finally, Philostratos calls Kritias δογματίας καὶ πολυγνώμων, rich in *sententiae*. Our speech offers little occasion for this, but perhaps §§ 7, 11, 31, are examples of what is meant.

Does Philostratos base himself (or did Herodes, whom no doubt he follows) on speeches? or does he think primarily of the 'Sokratic'?<sup>6</sup> I have not much doubt that Herodes studied the speeches:<sup>7</sup> but in case of any doubt, there is perhaps value in Hermogenes' critique, which is explicitly based on speeches.<sup>8</sup> He compares Kritias with Antiphon: equally σεμνός (with a blunt categorical manner):<sup>9</sup> more καθαρός: εὐκρινής, ἐπιμελής, and σαφής, but not so tediously as Antiphon and so more con-

<sup>1</sup> Diels adds <χωρίον>, I have added <μὴ>.

<sup>2</sup> Dionysios uses ὦρα of Plato's style (*ad Pomp.* 2), Plutarch of Herodotos' (*de Her. mal.* 43).

<sup>3</sup> I translate ἀγών 'power' to give the contrast (which I take to be intended) with 'beauty': the means he uses to defeat his adversary, opposed to what he charms his hearers with.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the taste of George Moore's dictum: 'No writer ought ever to use either "which" or "that"' (reported by Harold Nicolson, *Spectator*, 17 April 1942). What is valued is the immediacy of a paratactic style: not unlike what we admire in the narrative style of a ballad (e.g. *Clerk Saunders*), the stark unexplained juxtaposing of ideas or episodes.

<sup>5</sup> It would make the flattish point that Kritias is unlike Isokrates; or it might imply an *enfant terrible* manner, such as Xenophon perhaps adumbrates, e.g. *Hell.* 2. 3. 16 (I do not think this is what Philostratos means).

<sup>6</sup> As Dionysios does, *Thuc.* 51: 'orators like Andokides Antiphon Lysias, Sokraties like Kritias Antisthenes Xenophon' write a vernacular and prove that Thucydides does not. This list is abridged in *Lysias* 2 to οἱ τε Ἀνδοκίδου λόγοι καὶ οἱ Κριτίου καὶ ἄλλοι συγχοί (which likewise use the vernacular, opposed to the 'Old Attic' of Plato and Thucydides): λόγοι = literary compositions.

<sup>7</sup> See the next note.

<sup>8</sup> Hermogenes, *de ideis*, 2. 11 (pp. 401–2 Rabe). = *Vorsokr.* 88 A 19. Hermogenes' words μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς δημηγορικοῖς προομίοις are the only explicit reference which we have to Kritias' speeches. But on p. 403 Hermogenes expressly classes Kritias with the 'Ten Orators', as being comparable with Demosthenes rather than with Plato and as practising τὸ δικανικόν and τὸ συμβουλευτικόν. Dionysios had classed him with the Sokraties (see note 6, above). Herodes has come between: it looks as if Herodes' 'publication' (p. 20, n. 1) had converted Kritias from a Sokratic into an orator.

<sup>9</sup> τὰ πολλὰ λέγων ἀποφαντικῶς (so Rabe: Diels prints ἀποφατικῶς, but Hermogenes is simply repeating what he has just said of Antiphon, on p. 401, where the meaning is not in doubt. In both places it is a form of ὄγκος). This 'apophantic' manner is illustrated in two 'fragments' of Kritias (*Vorsokr.* 88 F 46–7) in which the sophist Aristides compares some words of Xenophon with how Kritias would say the same thing. Blunt, downright, authoritative: not urbane like Xenophon or Lysias. In ps.-Lysias xx there are several indications which prove that §§ 1–10 are by a different speaker from §§ 11–36, among them the 'apophantic' tone of §§ 1–10. In our speech the tone is tempered to the speaker's youth, yet e.g. §§ 1, 3, 31, 33, are as 'apophantic' as Antiphon.

vincingly: moderately *ἐπιεικής* and *ἀφελής*. This does not go very far, but so far as it goes it all applies well enough.

#### D. TEXT AND INTERPRETATION

##### i. *ὑμεῖς, ἡμεῖς*

I cannot accept Morrison's distinction (p. 70) between the first and second persons (*ἡμεῖς ὑμεῖς*, etc.), and that for three reasons:

- (1) This shift between the first and second persons is common in all political oratory: in Perikles' funeral speech, for example, *ὑμῶν* in 2. 35. 3 is the same as *ἡμῶν* in 36. 2: the people addressed in the second person in 35. 1, 46. 2, are the same Athenians as those spoken of in the first person throughout.
- (2) If any distinction was intended, it was a matter which Greek (and the Greek of this speech) is well qualified, by particles, order of words, etc., to make explicit. There is for instance a real distinction between *ἡμεῖς* (= the Thirty) and *ὑμεῖς* (= the Boule) in Kritias' speech in Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 24-34, and it is never for a moment in doubt. In our speech it is *nowhere* made explicit, though the writer is not sparing of particles and is lucidly logical.
- (3) Though there undoubtedly is use of both first and second persons, there is also undoubtedly itacistic confusion between *ἡμεῖς*, etc., and *ὑμεῖς*, etc. (as there is also e.g. in Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 28 and 51): twice the reflexive possessive *ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν* is written, where the verb is in the first person (§§ 5, 23).

##### ii. *Individual Passages*

The following notes on individual passages take Drerup's text as their starting-point.

§ 2: D's punctuation is harsh and involves a difficult order of words: is there a lacuna? E.g. *ἔχοι τις ἂν ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς λέγονσι ματαιότητα ἢ πολυπραγμοσύνην, αἰτιασάμενος <αὐτοὺς λέγειν οὐ δυναμένους> ἐπίστασθαι* etc.

§ 3: the Aldine punctuation (*εἰ δὲ τοῦτο διατρίβετε, καὶ δι' ἄλλους εἰ πράττειν ἡδύ. δοκεῖ δὴ μοι*, etc.) gives *καὶ* its point (cf. *καὶ πράσσειν* in § 10), gives a better sense to *ἡδύ*, and also better logic. The asyndeton is a mark of Kritias' style (p. 29): the abrupt *δοκεῖ δὴ μοι* is perhaps 'apophantic' (p. 29, n. 9).

§ 4: for *ἐκόντας* write *ἄκοντας*: cf. *ἄκων* in a similar connexion in § 6.

§§ 5-6: the writer is fond of the logical *νῦν δέ* (§§ 23, 33: cf. § 26 below), which is usually preceded by an alternative unfulfilled condition (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 28). Knox has restored this by writing *ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἡ πίστάμεθα . . . προγινώσκοντες [τ'] ἂν πρὶν παθεῖν ἠδισταβούμεθα, . . . νῦν δέ*, etc.

§ 9: *ᾧ γὰρ ἀλίσκεται μάλιστα καὶ πόλις καὶ χώρα τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἔλαθεν αὐτόν*: Knox says that *χωρίον* here gives the Latin *locus* in the sense of *occasio*. I know no Latin parallel for this vivid and pregnant phrase. The aggressive use of 'balance of power' (to support the weak against the strong) is given under the figure of a strategic *vantage-point*<sup>1</sup> which does not escape Archelaos' eye for country. The image is sustained all through the phrase (*ἀλίσκεται, ἔλαθεν*), it is not simply that *χωρίον* means *occasio*.

Ibid.: Beloch's *στασιάζοντας ἡμᾶς <πρὸς ἡμᾶς> αὐτοὺς* is surely right.

§ 10: so too Hass's *τοῖς ἐλλήνοισι* (MS. *πολλοῖς*).

§ 11: *stasis* is as much worse than war as war is than peace. Knox notes that this is repeated in Ael. Aristides, *Ῥοδίοις περὶ ὁμονομίας*, § 19 (i. 830, Dind. = ii. 60, Keil): this would be natural enough, if our speech was 'published' by Herodes (see p. 29, n. 8), but in fact Aristides is quoting, almost verbally, Herodotos 8. 3. 1. The senti-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *χωρίον* in Xen. *Hell.* 7. 5. 11.

ment is specially appropriate to the preoccupations of the outgoing fifth century,<sup>1</sup> and Xenophon puts something not unlike it in Kritias' mouth, *Hell.* 2. 3. 29.

Ibid.: μήτε τοὺς ἀπο(θανόντας) μήτε τοὺς ἀπο(κτείναντας) gives a substantial homoioteleuton and also picks up ἀποθηήσκουσιν just above.

§ 13: τὸν διαλύσονται γάρ (Hass: MS. τὸν διάλογον γάρ) gives a motive for the postponement of γάρ, viz. to avoid hiatus.

§ 14: keep ἐξαγομένων: ἐξάγεσθαι of the purchaser (or as we should say, the importer), Andoc. 2. 11. For the fact cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1. 11.

§ 15: δια(κω)λύομεν (Knox): cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 16.

§ 17: there is no construction for the accusatives οἰκίας, χρήματα. Is there a lacuna? E.g. χρήματα (διαρπαζόμενα διὰ τί μάτην) διαλέξομεν;

Ibid.: ὁ ταῦτα δρῶν (generalizing participle, like ὁ βουλόμενος)<sup>2</sup> does not refer to Archelaos (as both Drerup, pp. 86 and 21, and Meyer, p. 261, n. 2, suppose), but to the individual Larisan, whoever he happens to be (cf. ὅποτε τύχοι). Accordingly we should not correct προσήκον<sup>3</sup> of the manuscript to προσήκεν. ὁ ταῦτα δρῶν (whatever Larisan does Archelaos' dirty work) is distinguished from τούτων τὸν αἰτιον in §§ 16 and 18, who is of course Archelaos himself.

Ibid.: ἡ νεότης for ὡσαύτως (Hass) perfectly restores this eloquent sentence: at what date could *eta* be twice misread as *omega* (ὡνεότης)? Reiske's τότε for *ste* is attractive, and gives a Kritian asyndeton.

§ 18: the triad ἀμυνομένους μὲν . . . τιμωροῦντας δέ . . . οἰκτείροντας δέ . . . reminds me of Thuc. 3. 84. 2 ἀκρατῆς μὲν . . . κρείσσων δέ . . . πολέμια δέ.<sup>4</sup>

Ibid.: for ἀποδιδάξομεν τοὺς ἄλλους, etc. . . ἐπιβουλεύειν ἡμῖν cf. the last sentence of Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 34, οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν, etc., ἀπολόμενος δέ . . . ὑποτέμει ἀν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

§ 20: ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν (τού)τοις [Πελοποννησίοις]. τούτοις will mean Λακεδαιμονίοις, as it should: just below, in τοὺς μὴ (συμ)πολεμήσαντας αὐτοῖς, αὐτοῖς must be the Spartans (and must also refer to (τού)τοις), since just below again συμπολεμεῖν μετὰ Πελοποννησίων means 'to join the Spartans wars along with the Peloponnesians'.

§ 22: πρότερον μὲν ὅτι τὸν [πρότερον] Μηδικὸν οὐ συνεπολεμήσαμεν (πόλεμον).

§ 23: καίτοι rams the argument home: 'and the case is even stronger than that, since . . .'. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 29.

§ 25: I suggest keeping ὁ μοι (= τοῦτο δέ μοι), and putting a full stop at λέγω (Hass). Then (keeping the asyndeton) τοῖς ἐναντιωσομένοις εἶπερ, etc.

§ 26, last clause: εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐύρων . . . ἐβουλευσάμην ἄν . . . νῦν δέ, etc. (Reiske: MS. τὴν δέ). Cf. §§ 5-6 above.

§ 29: ὥσπερ οὖν (MS. οὐδ') ἐνθάδε Μακεδόνα. This changes the sense (as e.g. Beloch, p. 24, n. 4 on p. 25, wishes it changed): we do not of course know for certain whether there had or had not been a Macedonian governor in Larisa at any stage, but ὥσπερ οὖν seems to me to give a more convincing sentence (see p. 23, n. 1).<sup>5</sup> For ἡύρηκε (MS. εὔρηκε) just above, perhaps write ἐόρακε, cf. ὁρώμεν in § 28.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Enough to cite Thuc. 3. 82-4; Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kritias' proclamation εἰ τις τὸν Ἀθηναῖον φεύγοντα δέξοιτο (Philostr. *Vit. soph.* 1. 16. 1 = *Vorsokr.* § 88 A 1).

<sup>3</sup> Sc. προσήκον ἔστι, cf. e.g. Plato, *Theaet.* 196 E. The present tense suits the generalizing participle.

<sup>4</sup> Both perhaps are adaptations (p. 26, n. 4) of the weighty 'tetrads' in Gorgias' *Epitaphios* (*Vorsokr.* § 82 B 6): θεραπεύοντες μὲν . . . κολασταὶ δέ . . . αὐθάδεις . . . εὐόρητοι: ὕβρισται . . . κόσμοι . . .

ἄφοβοι . . . δεινοί: οὔτε ἐμφύτου ἀρεῶς οὔτε νομίμων ἐρώτων οὔτε ἐνοπλίου ἐριδος οὔτε φιλοκάδου εἰρήνης: σεμνοὶ μὲν . . . δαιοὶ δέ . . . δίκαιοι . . . εὐσεβεῖς δέ.

<sup>5</sup> ὥσπερ οὖν makes explicit something which so far is only implied, e.g. by the protasis of a conditional sentence. See Denniston, *Greek Particles*, pp. 421-2. The presence of a Macedonian governor has been implied by the contrasted absence of Spartan governors.

<sup>6</sup> The writer likes to associate εὔρισκω and δρῶ: §§ 3, 26: the distinction, if any, is fine.

§ 30: *αὐτόθι* at the end is not (as Knox supposes) tautologous, but means *in those parts*, as it does in § 28: 'where, *in the Spartan sphere*, will you find a city so small',—etc. So in ps.-Xen. 'Αθ. πολ. *αὐτόθι* always means 'in the place under discussion', sc. 'at Athens': 1. 2, 10, 11, 13; 3. 1, 6.

§ 31: locus desperatus. The sense of *παράδειγματα* is certain (cf. § 28), but *παράδειγμα* just above cannot bear this sense and is therefore probably corrupted (see p. 19, n. 3). I think there must be a lacuna and that Dobree has divined the sense: he suggests that *παράδειγμα* conceals *παράλληλα*, and he corrects *θῆται παρὰ δὲ το παραθήτε*. The following proposal utilizes his suggestions: *ἕως ἂν <κτῆσθται> δῆλον δέ, ἂν> παρ' ἄλληλα παραθήτε ταῦτα <καὶ> ᾧ*, etc. Dem. 19. 174 (or 18. 265) should be compared and might suggest a more convincing restoration.—It is hardly necessary to say that the subject of *εὐξασθαι* is not (as Knox supposes) the Spartans, but the same as of *εὐχόμενοι* in § 30.

*Ibid.*: *ᾧ μὴ γενέσθαι δεινὸν ἔστι μᾶλλον ἢ γενέσθαι*: a verse of a metre frequent in comedy.<sup>1</sup>

§ 32: Morrison objects (p. 71, n. 3) to Drerup's bracketing [*πλησίοι εἶναι αὐτῷ*] as a gloss: but in a speech which so carefully avoids hiatus I do not believe the words are genuine. There is consequently (I think) no such reference as Morrison sees to Herakleia or Pharsalos: I imagine *ᾧ ἰσχύομεν* is cavalry. Immediately after the gloss, *πρῶτον μὲν γάρ* is meaningless: Reiske's *μὲν οὖν* gives sense but does not explain the corruption: is there a lacuna? There is no *δέ* to answer *Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν* just above: this may have stood in the lacuna; or is the unanswered *μὲν* part of that tacit contrast with Archelaos which is also implied in the (surely *logical*, and not as Morrison takes it *temporal*)<sup>2</sup> *οὐκέτι*?

*Ibid.*: *ἂν δὲ ἐγχαυροῦσιν* MS., *ἐγχειρῶσιν* edd.: perhaps *ἐγχαυρῇ σφίσιν* (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 16)?

§ 33: *ἀφελόντες τῶν ἐκείνων κακῶν* MS.: perhaps *τῶν ἐκεῖ οἱ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνων*? 'rescuing them from their hardships in Macedonia'.

#### E. 'Ανάγκη (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3)

In the foregoing section I have given a few references to those parts of Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3, in which Kritias is the speaker. These parallels do not indeed do much to support Kritias' authorship, since no doubt as many parallels could be found elsewhere: Xenophon's idiom is his own (cf. e.g. 6. 5. 39 ff. for many verbal echoes of 2. 3), though he is not insensitive to dramatic propriety. But perhaps a certain insistence on *necessity* in this chapter is a Kritian feature: 16 *ἀντέλεγεν* *οἱ οὐκ ἐγχαυροῖ*: 51 *οἶδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασιν ἐπιτρέψειν ἡμῖν*: 24 *πλείστοις δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι*. In all these cases (even in the one quoted last) the necessity, though remorseless, is to some degree welcomed. So in our speech, § 4 *πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἀγαθόν—τοῦτο ὑμᾶς διδάξω, δεύτερον δὲ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον*: cf. §§ 19 ff., also §§ 1–3.

'Ανάγκας *ἔδν* *λέπαδνον*. With all his tempered and sensitized intelligence, Kritias professed himself, finally, to be driven by remorseless logic. He deceived himself: the remorselessness was his own, he was feeding his hunger for revenge. The passion of revenge breathes in our speech, surprisingly, more than the topic seems to admit. Is not this Kritias, emotional (§ 16), remorseless, now approaching his last phase?

Necessity drove him far before it had done with him: his last phase is no doubt

<sup>1</sup> See p. 28, n. 5. The metre (iambic tetrameter catalectic) is no doubt fortuitous: the words hardly look like a quotation from Old Comedy (cf. e.g. Ar. *Knights*, 878). But the words might be a sort of proverb, since it is a

popular and proverbial, as well as a comic, metre: e.g. *οὐ φροντῖς Ἰπποκλείδῃ, ἄριστα χαλὸς οἶφει*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The temporal sense is precluded by *πρόκειναι* and by the following *γάρ*.

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in Thucydides' mind in 3. 82-3, especially 82. 8. Kritias had ranged himself, between 411 and 407, under the great triumvirate of Theramenes, Alkibiades, and Thrasyboulos: of these, he executed Theramenes, got his foreign friends to execute Alkibiades,<sup>1</sup> and was himself killed by Thrasyboulos. The quisling's progress. Our speech only adumbrates this: the political doctrine of §§ 30-1 is still Theramenean.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Plut. *Alcib.* 38. 5; Nepos, *Alcib.* 10. 1: no doubt all accounts of the murder were tendentious, more or less. Ferguson, *CAH* v. 365, in his brilliant account of these events speaks as if Alkibiades had let Kritias down whilst he (Alkibiades) was still in power: 'his leader either could not or did not protect him—an omission which Kritias remembered later.' But Kritias' poem to Alkibiades (*Vorsokr.*<sup>5</sup> 88 B 4-5) was surely written when Alkibiades was actually in Athens, in 407; and it was not written from exile. Alkibiades' own fall is so soon after this that it is unlikely that Kritias' exile came first: Kritias in fact was involved in Alkibiades' fall.

It may be just this which he could not forgive. I imagine Kritias was one of those who had urged Alkibiades to attempt a coup d'état before he left Athens on his last campaign (Plut. *Alcib.* 34. 7): without doubt Kleophon would take the first opportunity he could to ruin either of them. A. von Blumenthal in his essay *Der Tyrann Kritias* (Stuttgart, 1923), p. 7, quite misconceives the order of events: 'wird verbannt, kehrt wieder, wirkt für Alkibiades'.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 15).

H. T. WADE-GERY.



## THE EARLIEST EXAMPLE OF CHRISTIAN HYMNODY

FROM Patristic writings ample evidence can be gathered about the important part which hymn-singing held in Early Christianity. Until recently, however, Early Christian hymnography was known only from documents transmitting the text but not the music. The discovery and publication of a Christian hymn in Greek with musical notation was, therefore, bound to change the whole aspect of studies concerned with the history of Early Christian music. This happened, as is well known, in 1922 when, under No. 1786 of the fifteenth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, A. S. Hunt edited a fragment of a hymn, dating from the late third century, together with a transcript of the music by H. Stuart Jones. For the first time it became possible to realize what kind of music Greek-speaking Christians in Egypt sang in praise of the Lord.

The importance of the discovery clearly appears from Hunt's concise and masterly commentary on the hymn (pp. 21-3 and 25), though he rightly refrained from drawing far-reaching conclusions from the strip of papyrus, containing only the last lines of a hymn, four out of five of which are disfigured by large initial lacunae.<sup>1</sup> Such restraint was not observed by all the scholars who commented upon the hymn.<sup>2</sup>

All the questions, however, raised in connexion with the discovery of a document of such outstanding significance could not be solved at once. We soon find three scholars at work, adding new data to the commentary of Hunt, and making some valuable suggestions: Th. Reinach, R. Wagner, and H. Abert. Yet their attempts are not satisfying as far as the restitution of the melodic line is concerned. In his endeavour to present the reader with a coherent piece of Greek music, Reinach suppresses in several places the lacunae both in the words and in the music. Stuart Jones and Abert do not go as far as Reinach, but they, too, reduce in some places the spacious lacunae in the music to short rests, thus giving an incorrect picture of the original musical structure of the hymn. Wagner's transcript is correct; but his rhythmical interpretation is prejudiced by metrical theories imposed on the music. In this article I shall give a survey of the textual readings of the music suggested by these scholars. I shall then try to show that the very important question of the musical rhythm has been treated as if it were determined entirely by the metre of the text, whereas it can be seen from the papyrus that the singing of the hymn was regulated by signs additional to the musical notation proper.

A facsimile of the original strip is shown in Plate I of the *O.P.*, enabling us to compare the musical signs on the papyrus with their rendering into modern notation by Stuart Jones, Reinach, Wagner, and Abert.<sup>3</sup>

Hunt's transcription of the five lines runs as follows. I add to the exact rendering of his text only the figures introduced by R. Wagner in the plate accompanying his study on the hymn, in order to facilitate references to the musical signs:

<sup>1</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part xv (*O.P.*), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Vetter's exaggerated conclusions in *Pauly's Real-Encycl. d. cl. Alt.*, ed. W. Kroll (1935), c. 874.

<sup>3</sup> Th. Reinach, 'Un ancêtre de la Musique d'Église', *Revue Musicale*, July 1922, p. 24, and *La Musique grecque*, 1926. R. Wagner, 'Der Oxyrhynchus-Notenpapyrus', *Philologus*, lxxix (N.F. xxxiii), 1924, pp. 201-21; the transcription is on a separate table. H. Abert, 'Ein neuentdeckter frühchristlicher Hymnus mit antiken

Musiknoten', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, iv, 1921-2, p. 527, and 'Das älteste Denkmal der christlichen Kirchenmusik', *Die Antike*, ii, 1926, pp. 282-90. A reprint of this article in *Gesammelte Schriften und Vorträge von Hermann Abert*, herausgegeben von Friedrich Blume, 1929, contains a revised version of the transcription on p. 89. The example given in Th. Gérold's *Les Pères de l'Église et la Musique*, 1931, p. 45, represents an inexact rendering of Th. Reinach's version of the hymn.



Before analysing the musical signs I give the transcript of Stuart Jones, who, to judge from a remark of Hunt (*O.P.*, p. 23), seems to have taken an active part in solving some of the problems of the musical notation:

ταν η ω σι-γά-τω μηδ' ἀσ-τρα φα-  
 -εσ-φό-ρα ἀ[μ]έ-σθων... πο-τα-μῶν ρο-θί-ων πᾶ-  
 -σαι ὑμ-νοῦν-των δ' ἡ-μῶν πα-τέ-ρα χρῖ-  
 όν χά-ρι-ον πνεῦ-μα πᾶ-σαι δου-νά-μεις  
 ἐ-πι-φω-νοῦν-των ᾠ-μῆν ᾠ-μῆν κράτος αἰ-  
 -νος... δω-τῆ-ρι μό-νω  
 πάν-των ἀ-γα-θῶν ᾠ-μῆν ᾠ-μῆν.

The melody has a compass of eight tones, designated by eight letters:  $R \phi \sigma \circ \xi \iota \zeta \epsilon$ . These letters, standing for musical notes, are to be found in the Diatonic Hypolydian key of Alypius,<sup>1</sup> the mode being the Hypophrygian.<sup>2</sup> Thus we get according to F. Bellermann's interpretation<sup>3</sup> the following row of tones:

R φ σ ο ξ ι ζ ε

Apart from the signs, indicating musical notes, five additional signs are used by the scribe of the papyrus, regulating the rhythm and the execution of the melody. These signs had already been discussed by Reinach, Wagner, and Abert when com-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci* (Teubner), p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> *O.P.*, p. 22. The same notation occurs in the first piece of the rather earlier papyrus published by W. Schubart in *Sitzungsber. preuss. Akad.*, 1918, pp. 763-8. Cf. R. Wagner, 'Der

Berliner Notenpapyrus', *Philologus*, lxxvii (N.F. xxxi), 1922, pp. 256-310, and H. Abert, 'Der neue griechische Papyrus mit Musiknoten', *Archiv f. Musikwiss.* i, 1918, pp. 313-28.

<sup>3</sup> F. Bellermann, *Die Tonleitern u. Musiknoten d. Griechen*, 1847, plate 1.

menting on the Berlin papyrus, where the same signs are also to be found. These signs are:

- (1) — A horizontal stroke above one, two, or three notes, lengthening their duration. Similar signs are found in Western Plain Chant MSS. and are used in modern editions of Gregorian melodies, in order to mark the lengthening of a single note or a group of notes.
- (2) ∪ This sign, the *hyphen*, binds two or three notes together; it corresponds to the slur, or *ligato* sign, in our modern stave notation.
- (3) ∩ The *leimma* is the sign for the χρόνος κενός to which Aristides Quintilianus refers.<sup>1</sup> It stands for a rest, which can be lengthened by a horizontal stroke.
- (4) : The significance of the *colon* is not quite clear, and has been widely discussed. It is obviously a sign of division, relating, however, only to the music, not to the metre of the text. Hunt's rendering of the *colon* in *O.P.* is not always correct. The sign is never set in the middle of the space between words or syllables, but always at the beginning of a word or a syllable. Reinach's suggestion, therefore, that the *colon* marked a prolongation of the note preceding it is untenable: the sign indicated a short interruption of the melodic flow. I entirely agree with O. Schroeder's suggestion that the *colon* marks an indication for the singer to take breath.<sup>2</sup> In modern notation it can best be rendered by ', which we use for the same purpose.
- (5) • The dot is placed either above a note, or, if the note is lengthened, above the horizontal stroke, referring to one or two notes. It indicates arsis. This explanation of the sign is given already by Hunt, who bases his view on a passage from *Anon. Bellermann* (3. 85) which has been widely discussed by Wagner in his study of the Berlin papyrus<sup>3</sup> and by other scholars. In our transcription we shall render the dot by a small vertical stroke, placed above the notes or rests to which it belongs, this sign being used in modern Plain Chant editions to designate the *ictus*.

On comparing Hunt's transcript of the Hymn to the Holy Trinity with the facsimile on Plate I, I found that he had omitted a few signs of which only traces can be seen. Most of these divergences had already been noted by R. Wagner, who in some cases suggested two different readings. I, therefore, shall give a list of the signs Hunt has omitted, adding a W in brackets to those which I restore to the text in accordance with Wagner. The figures refer to those placed above the letters in my transcript.

#### Second line

1. Hyphen omitted, linking together the missing note with ξ: traces of a horizontal stroke clearly visible. Following Hunt's suggestion, Reinach supplies in the lacuna in the text [οὐ τὰν δεῖλαν ο]ὐ τὰν ἡῶ.
- 4-5. Hyphen missing (W).
- 6-7. Hyphen missing (W).
- 11-12. Dot above ι.
20. Dot above ι, not a stroke (W).
21. Trace of a dot above φ (W).
22. Traces of a colon in front of the missing note.

#### Third line

3. The colon consists of a dot and a small horizontal stroke.
- 7-8. Remains of a ζ are visible between 7 (ι) and (8) (ζ). Wagner has seen them too,

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Quint., ed. A. Jahn, p. 27. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xlii, 1922, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> See *Philol.* lxxvii (N.F. xxxi), pp. 297 ff.



but seems to have hesitated to accept a group of two notes on the short syllable  $\rho\sigma$ .

8. Above  $\zeta$  is a stroke, not a dot.

18-19. The dot is set clearly above the second note of the group.

21. The colon consists of a dot and a stroke.

#### Fourth line

5-6. The papyrus shows no traces of a horizontal stroke, which Wagner adds in brackets.

7. The colon consists of a small stroke and a dot.

12. Hunt reads  $\zeta$ . Wagner suggests either  $\zeta$  or  $\xi$ . Reinach and Abert follow Hunt. From the musical point of view both readings are equally possible and good. A close examination of the facsimile makes it rather improbable that the letter was a  $\zeta$ : I therefore read  $\xi$ .

21. Hunt writes: 'The note  $\xi$  above  $\alpha$  of  $\delta\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is very uncertain.' Wagner suggests  $\sigma$ , a solution more satisfactory from the musical point of view. The round hole in the papyrus exactly takes up the space of an  $\sigma$ .

28.  $\sigma$  above the last syllable of  $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi\omega\nu\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  is a misprint, corrected by Hunt himself (W); the letter is an  $\iota$ , as Wagner first suggested.

31-3. The horizontal stroke covers all three notes of the group.

34-5. Hyphen missing.

38-9. Hunt assumes that after each of the two notes a sign is missing. However, no traces of such signs are left in the papyrus, and from the musical point of view there is no need to interpolate any notes.

40-1. Horizontal stroke and hyphen omitted.

#### Fifth line

1-2. After each  $\sigma$  we see traces of missing letters. The vertical strokes are longer than necessary for a single letter; each obviously extended over a group of two signs.

3. The colon is omitted.

4-5-6. Hyphen links together the second and third note of the group, not all three.

7. The stroke above  $\phi$  is omitted.

8. A dot should be added.

18-19. The stroke should cover both letters.

26-7-8. As in the former group (4-6) the hyphen links together only the second and third notes of the group. The stroke, however, covers the whole group; the dot is above  $\xi$ .

29-30-1. The stroke covers all the three notes (W).

33-4. Dot and hyphen are omitted. The stroke must be extended over both signs.

35-6. The dot is omitted. Wagner adds a hyphen. The stroke must again be extended over both notes.

From this list we can see that a considerable number of corrections have to be made in Hunt's text, most of them concerning the rhythm of the music, in order to give an exact rendering of it into modern notation. As the greater part of these additions were made by Wagner, we should expect to find them introduced in his transcription of the hymn.

Glancing over his transcription and those by Stuart Jones, Reinach, and Abert we are surprised to find that none of these scholars has taken the trouble to introduce all the rhythmical signs of the text and to render them by corresponding signs of our modern notation. Taking account, for the moment, only of the rhythmical signs in Hunt's text, we find that Stuart Jones, Wagner, and Abert have put in only the

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hyphen, rendering it by a slur, and the rest sign; they have ignored the dot, the colon, and the vertical stroke. Reinach tried to render the colon as a lengthening of the note preceding the sign; but in doing so was forced by his own preconceptions to shorten the rhythmical value of the subsequent note. Unfortunately he neglected the hyphens.

In order to demonstrate his method I shall give a short example of Reinach's transcription from his article in the *Revue Musicale*, followed by renderings of the same phrase by Wagner and Abert:

i. R. 

ii. W. 

iii. A. 1 

iii. A. 2 

Reinach's version makes a very difficult reading from the rhythmical point of view, and the difficulties are increased by the complete lack of phrasing signs (hyphens). The rhythmical interpretation of the colon is too artificial to be accepted as a satisfactory solution.<sup>1</sup> Wagner's version, on the other hand, is correct, but gives no impression of the flow of the melody. The same is true of Abert's first version, which probably served Wagner as a model.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of bars into compositions of an age which had no notion of them is a misconception, aggravated, particularly in Wagner's version, by the fact that the time-unit is indicated by a crotchet instead of a quaver; which makes the melody sound like a nineteenth-century hymn-tune.

In his first transcription of the hymn Abert, too, has introduced bars, but he took the crotchet as time-unit. In his second version, however, he no longer breaks up the flow of the melody with bar-lines, which unconsciously force the singer to treat each group of notes separated by these strokes as being of equal duration. I cannot enter into the theory of this question more fully. I only want to say that this pre-

<sup>1</sup> Reinach himself was not certain that his suggestion would solve the question and worded it rather cautiously: 'La seule explication que je puisse concevoir de ce signe mystérieux, c'est d'y voir une tenue, c'est-à-dire l'analogue du point de niveau. . . . Je ne donne cet essai d'interprétation que sous toute réserve'. *Revue Mus.*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. footnote 2 in R. Wagner's article in *Philol.*, p. 201. Abert, setting the hymn in the key of G# minor, and Wagner, in Ab minor (its equivalent), are following H. Riemann's deduc-

tions in his *Handbuch d. Musikgeschichte*, i (1904), p. 198, showing that the Dorian mode in A minor was the Greek fundamental scale, contrary to Bellermann's hypothesis that it was the Hypolydian. From the theoretical point of view Abert and Wagner were right in setting the hymn in the key of G# minor or Ab minor. In practice, however, there is no need to write the melody in a key which even in modern music is rarely used. In his second version Abert came back to the simpler way of transcribing used by Stuart Jones.

conceived metrical conception has hitherto prevented all scholars who have dealt with the hymn from taking account of the rhythmical signs which the text in the papyrus contains.

According to Hunt the poem is written in anapaests, a metre which seems to have been a favourite one with Early Christian hymnologists in Egypt. Hunt speaks of 'anapaestic dimeters, either acatalectic, catalectic, or brachycatalectic', handled in a free manner, as a short syllable is allowed to replace a long at the end of a *colon*, and the first syllable of ἀμήν is lengthened *metri gratia*.<sup>1</sup>

A similar view is expressed by Th. Reinach. He draws attention, however, to metrical irregularities in the third phrase of the fragment (third line, 16, to fourth line, 15)

ὑμνοῦντων δ' ἡμῶν  
πατέρα χυῖὸν χάριον πνεῦμα.

which show in his opinion that the poet makes use of a classical metre which he can no longer master.<sup>2</sup>

R. Wagner explains the metre differently. He does not see irregularities in it, but assumes a change from anapaests to catalectic dactylic heptameters.<sup>3</sup> Wagner's metrical interpretation is based on his view of the coincidence of the short syllables with musical signs above which a dot is placed, indicating ictus. There are, however, some exceptions to be noticed, and Wagner is forced to add dots in brackets. Wagner's theory was rejected by K. Muenschner, who points to the tendency of poets of that period to introduce new metres or to revive old ones. According to Muenschner the third phrase is a hypercatalectic anapaestic trimeter. (Muenschner counts the rest α as a hypercatalectic syllable.) He therefore considers the metre of the fragment as a whole as a mixture of acatalectic dimeters and hypercatalectic trimeters.<sup>4</sup>

From this survey the following conclusions can be drawn. All scholars dealing with the metre of the hymn agree that it is built on an anapaestic system but that some of the verses are handled in a free way; even the introduction of dactyls has to be accepted in order to get a proper metrical scheme.

After considering these various interpretations we may think of another solution of the difficulties with which we are presented in trying to read the hymn as if it were an example of Greek classical poetry. Looking for analogies in other Christian poetry of the same period it seems to me that Reinach, Wagner, Muenschner, and Abert were biased by comparing the fragment with hymns of Clement of Alexandria or Synesius. These hymns, written in an archaizing, strictly maintained anapaestic metre, aimed at continuing the line of Greek classical poetry. For the fragment we may find more suitable analogies in the group of anonymous hymns from the *Anthologia graeca carminum Christianorum*.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, the following lines from the evening hymn Αἰνεῖτε, παῖδες:

Σοὶ πρέπει αἶνος, σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος, σοὶ δόξα πρέπει  
τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι  
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν,

or the sunset hymn Φῶς ἱλαρόν:

ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλίου δύω  
ἰδόντες φῶς ἐσπερινόν  
ὑμνοῦμεν πατέρα, υἱόν  
καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεόν,

<sup>1</sup> O.P., p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Mus., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> 'Zu bezeichnen ist sie als heptameter dactylicus catalecticus in syllabam.' *Philol.*, p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> K. Muenschner, 'Zum christl. Dreifaltigkeitshymnus aus Oxyrhynchus', *Philol.* lxxx (N.F. xxxiv), 1924, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> W. Christ and M. Paraniak, *Anth. gr. carm. Christ.*, 1871, pp. 38-40.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. A.  
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are more closely related to the third passage from the papyrus than any verse of Clement or Synesius. The lines from the two hymns, both dating from the pre-Constantinian period, are also doxological formulae, taken either word for word or in slightly altered form from hymns of praise of the Early Christian Church. This kind of poetry can be traced back to the days of the Primitive Church, and from there to the hymns and psalms of praise of the Jewish liturgy.<sup>1</sup> All these invocations are composed in an exalted rhythmical prose, characteristic of many hymns of that age. The same can be said of the other passages of the hymn, which cannot either be considered as original. We have to bear in mind that the work of the Christian hymn-writers is different from that of a classical poet. All the hymns were sung. The composition of a new hymn consisted in adorning passages taken from the psalms or songs of praise by the addition of some new passages, or even only a few words, and singing this new text to the melodic phrases of the original chant which was well known to all. The adaptation to the new text was achieved by adding a few notes or interpolating a cadence in conformity with the structure of the chant.<sup>2</sup> The metre of the text of the fragment which we are examining, therefore, is not the result of the archaizing tendency of an individual poet but of elevated diction to which the Hellenistic hymn-writer was accustomed from other hymns of the service. His task was either to translate a Jewish or Syrian hymn into Greek, or to write a new hymn on the pattern of an older one. Setting the words to music he tried to write anapaests, the popular metre of the Hellenistic age. But when he came to insert the doxological formula, the wording of which could not be altered in more than slight details since its text, prescribed by the liturgy, was sung to a stereotyped cadence, he had to abandon the anapaestic metre and to introduce rhythmical prose.

From these considerations let us turn back to the music, the examination of which shows that its rhythm has no longer that intimate, if not rigid, connexion with the metre of the text which was characteristic of the Greek classical style of composition. Metrically short syllables are often set to lengthened notes; and, in an age when spoken Greek was becoming a stressed language,<sup>3</sup> the accentuated syllables are not consistently related to the musical ictus. The notes which have to be lengthened are marked by vertical strokes, and notes which have to be accentuated are distinguished from others by a dot. The rhythmical scheme, adopted by modern scholars in their renderings of Classical Greek music into our stave-notation was to make a note above a long syllable equal to a crotchet, and, correspondingly, a note above a short syllable equal to a quaver. We are not entitled to apply this scheme to the music of the Christian hymn. For in the Christian hymn we have to deal with rhythmical nuances which are too subtle to be expressed by doubling the time-value of the note to be lengthened. We must write all notes as quavers and indicate by an *episema* (a term known from Gregorian Chant, i.e. a horizontal stroke), those notes which have to be lengthened.

Adding the signs omitted in the first edition by Hunt and Stuart Jones, we get the following transcript of the text of the papyrus, and its rendering into modern musical notation:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Baumstark, *Liturgie Comparée*, 1939, pp. 69 ff., and Th. Gérold, *Les Pères de l'église et la musique*, 1931, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed discussion on this principle of composition I may refer to my study on 'Eastern Elements in Western Chant', *Mon. Mus. Byz., Amer. Ser.*, vol. i (in print).

<sup>3</sup> An example of this state of transition is given by C. Wessely in his 'Les plus anciens

monuments du Christianisme', *Patr. orient.* iv, pp. 205 ff., commenting on the metre of the Christian hymn (third or fourth century) from the *Amherst Papyri*, i, ed. Grenfell and Hunt, pp. 23-8: 'La construction métrique a pour base deux principes: l'un est celui de l'ancienne poésie grecque, l'emploi alternatif de syllables longues et brèves; l'autre est l'accentuation des syllables.'



(i) [ 31 letters ] ομου πασαι τε θεου λογουμοι  
 α·[·...] [·] α ρ [·...]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 ] ζ ι ρ φ η

(ii) [ 28 letters ]

] υ ταν η - ω

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23  
 φ : ζ ι ρ φ η : ζ ι ρ φ : [·] ι

σε· γέ-τω μηδ' α-στρα φα-ε-σφό-ρα λ[ου]ε

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 ζ ι : ζ ι : [·] ζ ι

(iii) [σ]θων[·]· λελ·[·...] ρ[·...] πο-τα-μων εο-θι-ων

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24  
 ζ ι ρ φ η : ζ ι ρ φ : ο ζ ρ

κα-σαι. υ-μνούν-των δ' η - μων

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16  
 [·] ρ σ φ σ ρ : φ σ φ φ ζ ι [·] ζ ι

(iv) [η]α-τέ-ρα χυι-ον χ' α-γι-ον πνευ-μα.

(v)  
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<sup>1</sup> Zeitsch

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 5

17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33

34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42

(v)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

With the exception of the Paean from the Berlin papyrus, dating from the end of the second century A.D. or the beginning of the third, no other piece of Greek music has come down to us which has so rich a flow of melody as that of the hymn in praise of the Holy Trinity. Abert speaks of its genuinely Greek character,<sup>1</sup> and takes the hymn as a proof that Greek pagan influences as well as Jewish characteristics can be traced in Early Christian music.<sup>2</sup> Wagner, though agreeing in principle with Abert, points to certain similarities between cadences in Gregorian melodies and those in the Christian hymn,<sup>3</sup> but he warns us to regard the hymn as a pastiche, since its personal style (he declared) showed that it was intended for private devotion.<sup>4</sup>

At the time when these statements were made only a few Byzantine melodies

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Mus. Wiss.*, 1921-2, p. 529.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 528.

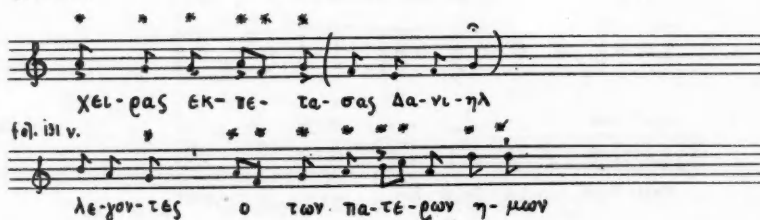
<sup>3</sup> *Philol.*, 1924, pp. 213-14.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 213.

had been deciphered, and little was known in general about the style of Early Byzantine music. At present, however, we not only possess a fairly complete survey of the rich treasury of Byzantine melodies,<sup>1</sup> but we also know that the shape and character of these melodies had changed little during the period from which manuscripts are preserved, i.e. from the tenth to the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The kernel of the melodies of the *Hirmologium*, undoubtedly the oldest layer of the Byzantine corpus of hymns, dates from an even earlier stage of hymnography, namely from the age of the *Melodi*, Romanus, and the other writers of *Kontakia* from the early sixth century, who translated the poetical homilies of Syriac hymn-writers into Greek,<sup>3</sup> and adapted the melodies of the poems to these new texts. Evidence for the Syro-Palestinian origin of the *Hirmi* can be gathered from the fact that they show a principle of composition everywhere to be found in the Middle East,<sup>4</sup> but unknown in Greek music: the connexion of certain melodic formulae, linked together by varying short passages in the manner of a recitative.

The repetition of some melodic formulae in the hymn was already noticed by Abert and Wagner, but at the date of the publication of their article the significance of the fact could not be recognized. The addition and combination of certain formulae, characteristic of a mode, was not yet discovered as a principle of composition in the music of the Middle East. Together with the new creed and the chants and hymns of Early Christianity this musical style penetrated to the countries of the Mediterranean basin. Thus it is not surprising to find similarities between some cadences of the Christian hymn and Gregorian antiphons. But the relation between typical musical phrases in the *Hirmi* and some of the formulae of the hymn are even more striking.<sup>5</sup> The melodic phrase to the words *πατέρα χυιόν χάριον πνεῦμα* (fourth line, 1-16) and its repetition (fifth line, 1-14) are cadences typical of Byzantine music, or, more correctly, combinations of two Byzantine cadences which frequently occur in *Hirmi* of the fourth Mode, as can be seen from the following examples, taken from Codex Ivron (c. 1150)<sup>6</sup> (the structural notes of the cadence are marked by asterisks):

fol. 60v.



<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Wellesz, *Trésor de Musique Byzantine*, i, 1934, and *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, (*Transcripta*, i (1936) and ii (1938), ed. C. Höeg, H. J. W. Tillyard, E. Wellesz).

<sup>2</sup> E. Wellesz, 'Über Rhythmus u. Vortrag d. byz. Melodien', *Bys. Zeitschr.* xxxiii (1933), pp. 62-6. 'Studien z. byz. Musik', *Zeitschr. f. Mus. Wiss.* xvi (1934), pp. 217 ff.

<sup>3</sup> C. Emereau, *Saint Ephrem le Syrien*, 1918, pp. 103 ff.

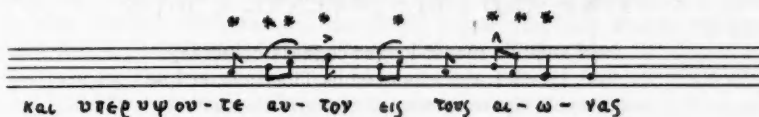
<sup>4</sup> Cf. my article on *Eastern Church Music* in *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, *Supplem. Vol.*, 1940.

<sup>5</sup> R. Wagner bases his deductions in *Philol.*,

loc. cit., on A. Gevaert's *La Melopée antique*, published in 1895. We cannot accept the material used by Gevaert as a reliable source, because the melodies are not based upon the MSS. of the best period, such as those published by the monks of Solesmes. Moreover, the Gregorian melodies underwent many transformations when the Roman rite crystallized, and features characteristic of the pre-Gregorian period were destroyed.

<sup>6</sup> *Hirmologium Athoum*, ed. C. Höeg; *Cod. Monast. Hiber.* 470; *Mon. Mus. Byz. Facs.*, vol. ii, 1938.

To the final cadence of the hymn ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν (fifth line, 26-36) the closing formula of Hymn 1603 (*Cod. Ivir.* 131 r.) provides a fitting parallel:



The cantillation on *b* natural to the words (δὲ)-νάμεις ἐπιφωνούν-(των) (fourth line 21-6) is a good example of the linking together of two melodic phrases. Its *initium* is on *g* (δὲ-), in order to link up with the preceding phrase ending on the same note; while its close leaps up to *d* (-των), in order to prepare the beginning of the next phrase (ἀμὴν) on *e*. This kind of cantillation is typical of the Early Christian liturgical singing, derived from the singing of the psalms in Jewish liturgy; it came down to us virtually unchanged, both in the practice of Jews in the Middle East and in the Eastern and Western Churches.<sup>1</sup>

From these considerations, based on stylistic analysis, the view can no longer be maintained that the music of the hymn is of genuinely Greek character, nor can we follow Abert<sup>2</sup> and Wagner<sup>3</sup> in regarding it as the outcome of a kind of ecstatic improvisation.

In spite of its Greek notation<sup>4</sup> the hymn is an example of the new kind of ecclesiastical music, modelled on patterns deriving from Oriental sources and used for the Greek text. In transcribing and performing the hymn we are not, therefore, permitted to introduce a rhythmical scheme which may be too rigid even for melodies deriving from the classical period of Greek music. We have to take into account and to reproduce the rhythmical signs from the papyrus, which would not have been used in such abundance if the metre of the text had been thought sufficient to regulate exactly the execution of the music.

In interpreting the hymn according to the principles of musical palaeography we arrive at a melody the structure and expression of which already show the features characteristic of the treasury of Byzantine ecclesiastical music.

E. J. WELLESZ.

<sup>1</sup> A. Z. Idelsohn, 'Parallelen zwischen gregor. u. hebr.-orient. Gesangsweisen', *Zeitschr. f. Mus. Wiss.* iv, 1921-2, pp. 514-24.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Mus. Wiss.* iv, p. 528.

<sup>3</sup> *Philol.*, loc. cit. p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> Like all other Oriental music, Early Christian music both Eastern and Western was transmitted orally. The signs of Early Byzan-

tine notation originally regulated the rhythm and execution. Interval signs were introduced only by degrees, when it became increasingly difficult to store all the melodies in the memory. We may, however, well imagine that a Christian in Egypt, trained in music, may have used the system of notation handed down by Alypius, in order to remind him of the hymn.



## PIKE AND EEL: JUVENAL 5, 103-6

uos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,  
aut †glacie† aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse  
uernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca  
et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae.

RECENT discussion of the problems associated with *glacie* has been copious. It has arisen (*C.R.* lii. 56) out of Housman's note, which runs as follows: '*glacie* nemini, quantum scio, praeterquam mihi et Schradero et Hadriano Valesio admirationem mouit: ceteris exploratum est frigore pisces maculosos fieri, eos praesertim qui torrentem cloacam, locum frigidissimum, penetrare soleant.' In his 1931 reprint he added (p. xlvii): 'Ruperti took exception to *glacie*, but only to its case.' Housman's ironically stated objection to the sense is indeed a formidable difficulty; though the other—the fact of the two ablatives<sup>1</sup> and the vagueness of the former—is itself serious enough to provide an additional indication of corruption.

The problem of *glacie* is complicated inevitably with the question of *Tiberinus*, which is here to all appearance what the scholiast calls (either) it (or some other word in this line), *proprium nomen piscis*. What fish? That will, or at least may, depend upon what word we substitute for *glacie*. The only pyrrhic Latin name for a fish beginning with *gla* is *glanis*, and this word has within recent times been proposed here independently by three scholars in succession: Mr. H. W. Garrod, Professor H. J. Rose (tentatively), and Mr. L. R. Palmer.<sup>2</sup> But such a speculation would require some positive evidence, and none has been forthcoming. On the contrary, our best modern authority on these matters, Professor D'Arcy W. Thompson, has since shown in an exhaustive (and fascinating) note that neither the *glanis*, 'a rare fish', nor any other kind of 'catfish' has ever been seen in Italy, and that there are other objections equally fatal. Line 104 remains therefore, in his opinion, 'as obscure as ever'; and that is at present the last<sup>3</sup> word that has been said about it.

The fish most obviously suggested by the term *Tiberinus* is a fish already long famous in Roman satire and prose, the *lupus* (pike) to which the local adjective had been attached in Lucilius and Horace. And with this fish Juvenal's has in fact been commonly identified; see e.g. Ruperti, Weidner, Mayor. One is surprised to find Mr. Palmer denying the identification on the ground that the *lupus* was a luxury fish. It was and it was not; and the fact was notorious. All depended upon whether it had been caught (and had lived) above the city drains or below them. I cannot think that any of those who have denied, or even doubted, the traditional identification had ever duly consulted, collated, and considered the passages cited in Mayor's notes on 104 and 105; I must wonder if they had even read Mayor's own quotations. The only piece of evidence that has been represented as a ground for doubt is a passage of Galen (Kühn, vi. 722) referring to an unspecified fish which 'some' call *Τιβερινός*. From an examination, not merely of the passage quoted by Bücheler (and Friedländer who follows him) but of the whole context, I seem to find it highly probable that Galen too is referring to pike.<sup>4</sup> But suppose he is not; his statement throws no

<sup>1</sup> 'Clumsy syntax'—L. R. Palmer, *l.c. infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *C.R.* xxv. 240-1; *Harvard Studies*, xlvii (1936), 11-12; *C.R.* lii. 56-8, see further 115-16.

<sup>3</sup> Virtually; in *C.R.* lii. 166-7 Prof. Thompson proposed *glacus*, but very tentatively. The word is not extant in Latin, and appears to be a scribe's blunder in Greek. Professor Thompson's

identification of *λάβραξ* with pike would seem (if a non-biologist may say so) to be disproved by the fact that the *λάβραξ* was a marine fish; see Galen, Kühn, vi. 714, and Oppian, *Hal.* i. 112-20; and cf. n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> His fish is rendered unpalatable by the drains of Rome; is better above the city; and is

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light whatever on *glacie*, whereas the traditional explanation, I hope to show, supplies an explanation of its presence in our text. Again, if the term *Tiberinus* should appear as implying a higher grade *lupus* from Titius to Horace and a lower grade in Juvenal (and Galen, whether *lupus* or not), the simple explanation may well be the growth of Rome and the consequent increase in the pollution of the Tiber.

The case for the identification of Juvenal's fish with the inferior grade of pike appears to me overwhelming. His *pinguis* corresponds to the *procerus* of Horace; his *cloaca* to the *stercus insectaretur* of Macrobius (it is clear that some degree of scavenging was an essential even of the esteemed grade of pike); above all, both his *pinguis* and his *aspersus maculis* tally to perfection with the two statements of his predecessor Columella: 8. 16. 4 'doctaque et erudita palata fastidire docuit fluviale lupum, nisi quem Tiberis aduerso torrente defatigasset', and *ibid.* 17. 8 'sine macula (nam sunt et uarii) lupos includemus' (sc. in uiuario). Again, there is only one other place in classical Latin where *uernula* (here in the form *uerna*) is applied to a fish: Martial, 10. 30. 21, Nereus always has his own *piscina* at hand, always has his *uernos lupos*; true, the point is peculiar, but the allusion is the same.<sup>1</sup> Finally, *lupus* and *anguilla* make a natural pair; every Cambridge man knows the sign of 'The Pike and Eel'.

There is, however, one slightly disconcerting feature. In Horace by implication, in Columella, and (if his *Tiberinus* be pike) in Galen by explicit statement, the term 'torrent' is associated with the higher, not the lower, grade of pike. On the other hand, *torrente* in association thus with *pinguis* is in itself an independent puzzle;<sup>2</sup> and *torpente*, although proposed by Rutgers (*uar. lectt.* pp. 185-6 = 2. 17) for a wrong reason,<sup>3</sup> was received by Ribbeck (ed. 1859), and mentioned by Friedländer, Housman, and Leo, presumably for the very plausible reason that it would justify *pinguis*. However, Juvenal does not say 'aduerso torrente'; and I hope to show that this minor flaw, in so far as it may be real, could be removed without altering *torrente*.

We are now in a position to deal with *glacie*. Mr. Palmer writes: 'We are faced, then, with a double difficulty—a corrupt *glacie* and a missing noun to support *Tiberinus*. It is tempting to conclude that this noun lies concealed in *glacie*.' Surely; it can be nowhere else. But when Mr. Palmer at once infers that the word thus overlaid must be the name of a fish, he overlooks, as English critics so often do, the fact that ancient writers in general, and Juvenal in particular, were rhetoricians. What is required is a description of the pike by allusive periphrasis.

To me there appear also to be other difficulties. (i) What is the point of *et ipse*? Duff explains 'the fish, like you the client, was bred by the banks of the Tiber'; but this is surely too irrelevant even for Juvenal, a point so wretched as to be no point at all. Weidner, Friedländer, and editors generally say that it means 'like the eel'; this seems much more natural; but we do not, I think, hear elsewhere of Tiber eels as such; in any case, they were evidently not proverbial; why has it not been stated that 'all you get is an eel out of the Tiber'?—which would add so much more point at the outset. (ii) The account of the pike as an unfastidious feeder is convincing; but that he should actually swim up a sewer against a strong current, that he should be 'in the habit of' penetrating right to the 'far end' (see e.g. Duff's note) of the *cloaca maxima*, under the Vicus Tuscus, under the Forum, all the way up to the Subura—who ever heard of a pike going so far up a drain (or so far, deliberately, against a

contrasted with those (inferentially of same species) in a tributary of the Tiber, the Nar, where they are exercised against the current—a feature which corresponds to the *iaclatus* of Horace (*Serm.* 2. 2. 31-7) and the *aduerso torrente* of Columella (8. 16. 4). I can find no Greek word for pike (cf. p. 46, n. 3), and this may explain

the apparently substantial *Tiβepivos*.

<sup>1</sup> The pike is a freshwater fish, but the reference will be to those at the Tiber's mouth; *alto caplus* as Horace says.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Plin. 9. 15. 17, § 44 'attilus in Pado nertia pinguescens.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the final sentence of this article.

current)? (iii) Certainly *penetrare* is used in Latin for *penetrare in*; in his note on Hor. *Carm.* i. 37. 24 Bentley cites many passages which are—incidentally—examples of this; but they are not ambiguous; *penetrare cryptam* is; I should have expected here *penetrare in*.

A text<sup>1</sup> which meets all these objections is a text which not only reads very easily, but can also be further illustrated.

103 uos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae  
106 et solita in mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae;  
104 aut glutto aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse  
105 uernula riparum pinguis torrente cloaca.

103 followed by 106] 'Dr. Brunelli, of the R. Laboratorio di Idrobiologia in Rome,' writes Professor D'Arcy Thompson (*C.R.* lii. 119) 'tells me that the common eel is *the only fish*' (italics his, but I welcome them) 'which enters the city sewers as Juvenal describes it doing'. No text of Juvenal known to moderns ever described it as doing so until now that I make this transposition. Dr. Brunelli's information prompted Professor D'Arcy Thompson to emend this passage in such a way as to produce the assertion that the *cloaca maxima* was 'in the habit of' (*solitā*) penetrating the crypt of the Subura.

My transcriptional hypotheses here are: (i) 106 was accidentally omitted through homoeoteleuton, *ubrae, burae*; from the margin it was inserted in the wrong place under the natural but mistaken assumption that it ought to follow *cloaca*; (ii) *solita in* was read as *solitam* and then suitably emended.

Observe how naturally *solita penetrare* follows *cognata colubrae*.

106] For the position of *mediae* between *in* and *cryptam* cf. (as Mr. R. J. Getty points out to me) *in uaginae fronte* above, 44.

104] 'The glutton of the Tiber' does not merely fit this context; it is an allusion such as Roman satirists habitually made to their predecessors. Lucilius (ap. Macr.) had described the *lupus* as *Tiberinus catillo*, fr. 50 Müller = 1176 Marx. 'The most voracious of fresh-water fishes'—*Enc. Brit.* s.v. 'Pike'. I learn from the Thesaurus that *glutto* is corrupted to *glutio* in the MSS. of 'schol. Hor. app. sat. 2. 2. 92' (*edax: uorax, glutio*); well, *glutio* is 'transcriptionally' almost indistinguishable from *glacie*. Juvenal has the verb, *glutisse* 4. 28.

104-5] *et ipse* will now, of course, refer not merely to *uernula riparum*, but also to *pinguis torrente cloaca*. As to this last phrase, I am by no means sure that we ought not to read *cloacae*; 'fat from, i.e. fattened on, the current of the sewer', i.e. as merged in the Tiber. Juvenal uses *torrens* as an adjective at 3. 74, 10. 9, 128, but as a substantive, meaning 'current', at 4. 90. I feel that *cloacae* absorbs the emphasis to itself from *torrente*; perhaps all the more so as last word of the paragraph. It could, however, be argued, I dare say, that no change is necessary, on the ground that *torrente cloaca* may be a loose ablative of attendant circumstances, like *dimidio Memnone* at 15. 5, where see Housman. Yet the passage (quoted in Mayor) of Pliny which so strongly supports *torrente* here as against *torpente* presents it, at least, as a substantive.

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<sup>1</sup> For careful criticisms which led me to renounce a previously made transposition prompted by *glutto* I am indebted to my col-

leagues Professor J. F. Mountford and Mr. F. W. Walbank.

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# THE LOCRIAN MAIDENS AND THE DATE OF LYCOPHRON'S ALEXANDRA<sup>1</sup>

## I

THE tribute of two maidens to the temple of Athena in Ilium was discontinued after the end of the 'Phocian' war (346 B.C.). We have for this the evidence of the Epitome of Apollodorus 6. 22 *χιλίων δὲ ἐτῶν παρελθόντων μετὰ τὸν Φωικικὸν πόλεμον ἱκέτιδας ἐπαύσαντο πέμποντες*.<sup>2</sup> In Tzetzes' commentary to Lycophron l. 1141 the same piece of information is given on the authority of Timaeus (pp. 335-6 Scheer = fr. 66 FHG), but Wilamowitz, among others, showed that Tzetzes arbitrarily (though perhaps not foolishly) transferred the name of Timaeus from the scholium on l. 1155.<sup>3</sup> The information remains valuable without the adornment of an illustrious name. We know from a story of Aelian, which 'Suidas' partially preserved in many fragments (Aelianus, fr. 47, Hercher, ii, p. 205), that the Locrians were compelled by the Delphic oracle to resume the interrupted practice and submitted the regulation of it to a King Antigonus, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος ἐφθέεν οἱ δικάσαι προσέταξε κλήρω διακριθῆναι.<sup>4</sup> This King Antigonus can hardly be identified with Antigonus Doson for two reasons which must, however, be admitted to be not absolutely cogent. First, the interval between interruption and resumption would be one of more than a century, whereas Aelian (though he cannot be pressed too much on any interpretation) presupposes a shorter interval.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, the 'Lokrische Mädcheninschrift' made famous by A. Wilhelm, which is an evident *terminus ante quem* for the intervention of King Antigonus, can hardly be later than 230-220 B.C. Wilhelm, indeed, had suggested a date c. 270-240 B.C. His date has been affected by recent changes in Delphic chronology; but the balance of probability (so far as I can see) still favours a date nearer to 250 than to 200 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the more natural alternative remains between Antigonus Monophthalmus and Antigonus Gonatas. Either agrees well with the interruption after the third Sacred War.

## II

In early times the burden of the tribute had fallen upon the aristocratic Hundred Houses of eastern Locris (Polyb. 12. 5. 7).<sup>7</sup> The story told by Aelian and, more

<sup>1</sup> Professors J. D. Beazley, Eduard Fraenkel, Hugh Last, Dr. Paul Maas, Mr. M. N. Tod, and Dr. W. W. Tarn discussed this note. They are not responsible for my conclusions.

<sup>2</sup> W. Leaf's emendation of *Φωικικόν* to *Τρωικόν* (*Troy*, 1912, 132) cannot be accepted.

<sup>3</sup> J. Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens*, 1892, 13; U. von Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, 1916, 387. E. Bickel, *Diatribes in Senecae Phil. Fragm.* i, 1915, 165, does not persuade me.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 'Suidas', s.v. *ἐφθέεν*. In the preceding sentence, quoted by 'Suidas', s.v. *ἀνήρασθαι*, Antigonus is not called *βασιλεὺς*: οἱ δὲ (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσχον ἀνήρασθαι τὸ πρόσταγμα) ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνῳ τίθενται τὴν κρίσιν κτλ. Whatever the explanation of the fact (to which P. Maas called my attention) 'Suidas' is obviously correct in taking Antigonus as a king. On the arbitration of kings in general M. N. Tod, *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks*, 1913, 89 ff. (who does not quote our case).

<sup>5</sup> αἱ γὰρ πεμφθεῖσαι κατεγήρασαν ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ τῶν διαδόχων μὴ ἀφικνουμένων. The sentence, however, does not imply that the last maidens sent in the fourth century were still alive when the question of the revival arose. On *καταγήρασκω* (and *consenesco*) = 'become old and die' cf. P. Treves, *AJPh.* lxiii, 1942, 149.

<sup>6</sup> 'Editio princeps': *Jahresh. Österr. Inst.* xiv, 1911, 163-256. Improved edition by A. Nikitski, *Journ. Minist. Instr. Publ.* xliii, 1913, 1-100 (in Russian: available to me only in summary): cf. Wilhelm's judgement in Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, ii. 1457, n. 3. Nikitski's text now in Schwyzler, *Exempla*, n. 366. On the date see Appendix.

<sup>7</sup> The conclusions derived from the passage of Polybius for the origin of the tribute (for instance by W. Leaf: *Troy* quoted and *Strabo on the Troad*, 1923, 191) are, of course, to be discounted (Wilamowitz, *Ilias und Homer*, 391).



reasonably, the 'Mädcheninschrift', which was discovered in western Locris, prompted the suggestion that in later times western Locris had been included in the tribute. That is unlikely for obvious constitutional reasons. The presence of the inscription in western Locris admits of simpler explanations, especially if the inscription comes from the temple of Athena Ilias at Physcus: the goddess Athena had good reasons to be kept informed. It is, however, likely that the regulation by King Antigonos concerned a tribute no longer based upon the Hundred Houses. The inscription itself, as is well known, represents a further stage: the 'genos' of the *Αἰάντριοι* in the polis of Naryca takes over the tribute in exchange for many privileges.<sup>1</sup> The custom continued until a time not far distant from Plutarch or, better, the source of Plutarch, *de sera num. vind.* 12. 557 c. Perhaps we can refer to the latest stage the texts which speak of the tribute of one girl only. One of the two texts, Servius, *Aen.* 1. 41, fits well because it presupposes the reform described by the 'Mädcheninschrift': 'unam nobilem puellam . . . de ea tribu de qua Ajax fuerat, sicut Annaeus Placidus refert'. The second text, however, namely the scholium on Lycophron 1159, does not fit so easily. The other texts (inscription, Timaeus, *ap.* Sch. Lycophr. 1155, Aelian, Apollodorus) agree that the maidens of the tribute were two in number.

### III

The oracle which caused the revival left no doubt that two maidens had to be sent every year (Aelian: *εἰ μὴ πέμποιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος δύο παρθένας*). The yearly interval is also stated by Strabo 13. 1. 40, p. 600, by Servius, and by Schol. Lycophr. 1141.<sup>2</sup> We are also certain that in the third century B.C. the maidens were supposed to remain at Ilium only for a limited period, probably for one year. According to Aelian it was a consequence of the interruption that *αἱ γε πεμφθεῖσαι κατεγήρασαν ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ τῶν διαδόχων μὴ ἀφικνουμένων*. That implies that after the revival the maidens were sent home as soon as their successors arrived.<sup>3</sup>

The rules of the period before the interruption are not so clear. I submit that the maidens were, in theory, sent at yearly intervals, just as in the third century. Aelian, again, implies that; and I believe he is right. After having rebuked the Locrians for their breach of traditional duties, Delphi could not suggest radical modifications in them. The rules of the fourth century must have been not essentially different from those of the revival in the third century. A confirmation is to be found in the one fourth-century writer who speaks of the Locrian tribute. Aeneas Tacticus 31. 24: οἱ γοῦν περὶ Ἴλιον (*Iacuna*) ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου καὶ οὕτω διατεταμένοι οὐ δύνανται φυλάξαι μὴ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς Λοκρίδας. καίτοι τοσούτων [αὐτοῖς] ἔστιν ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι προσέχοντες τῷ λαθεῖν λανθάνουσιν ἀν' ἔτεα πολλά εἰσάγοντες σώματα.<sup>4</sup> The words ἀν' ἔτεα πολλά, 'über viele Jahre hin' (Wilamowitz), 'year after year' (Hunter), must not be pressed unduly: yet they imply a frequent

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to see how W. Leaf could persuade himself that the inscription announced the end of the tribute (*Ann. Brit. School Athens*, xxi, 1914-16, 148). L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 1921, p. 296 n., did not follow him on this point. Another strange theory by an eminent man is C. Robert's contention (anticipated by Nikitski?) in *Griech. Heldensage*, ii, 1923, p. 1274, that the inscription does not refer to the maidens sent to Troy, but to an imitation of the Trojan tribute in favour of a sanctuary of western Locris.

<sup>2</sup> The note by Tzetzes to Lycophr. 1141 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς παρθένας, εἶτα τὰ βρέφη ἐνιαύσια μετὰ τῶν τροφῶν ἔπεμπον οἱ Λοκροὶ and Apoll. Epit. (quoted) μετέπειτα δὲ βρέφη μετὰ τροφῶν ἔπεμπον

must derive from a misunderstanding of ἐνιαύσιος (cf. Schol. Lycophr. 1141 . . . παρθένας ἐνιαυσίαιας . . . ἀποστέλλων). Cf. J. Vürtheim, *De Aiakis origine*, 1907, 104.

<sup>3</sup> L. 10 of the inscription is restored by Wilhelm καὶ τοῖς κόραις ἑκατέραις πεντεκαίδεκα μῶνς ἐν κόσμον καὶ τροφὰν παρέχειν ἔντε κα [ἐν ἀνδρὶ ἐλθῇ? Nikitski suggests ἔντε κα [ἐπανελθόντι.

<sup>4</sup> The text according to Wilamowitz, *Ilias und Homer*, 384, n. 1. The reading ἀν' ἔτεα is to my mind certain: for the Ionism cf. πάθεα in 22. 18. P. Corssen, *Sokrates*, i, 1913, 197, has the curious theory that the yearly tribute was more ancient than the lifelong service.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for P-W, s.v. 'L



## THE LOCRIAN MAIDENS AND LYCOPHRON'S *ALEXANDRA* 51

repetition of the surprise, not intervals of at least 15–20 years as we shall see described by Timaeus and Lycophron.

It is a separate question whether in the fourth century the maidens had to serve only one year. In the third-century revival some mitigation on this point might be introduced more easily. However, as we have seen, Aelian implies that, before the breach, the service lasted a short term, and we have no reason to refuse his evidence. Of course there are the anonymous lines quoted by Plutarch, *de sera num. vind.* 12:

αἱ καὶ ἀναμπέχονοι γυμνοῖς ποσὶν ἤτε δούλαι  
ἡοῖαι σαίρεσκον Ἀθηναίης περὶ βωμόν,  
νόσφι κρηδέμενοι καὶ εἰ βαρὺ γῆρας ἰκάνοι.

But either these lines belong to a cyclic poet (Arctinus?), and they are evidence for a much earlier period, or they belong to a Hellenistic poet (Euphorion?), and they must be discussed together with that Hellenistic evidence of Timaeus, Lycophron, and the Epitome of Apollodorus which tells of a lifelong service. With due caution, but firmly, one must say that the texts which refer directly to the fourth century do not point to any departure from the rules of the third century.

### IV

Timaeus, Lycophron, and the Epitome speak a different language. They clearly say that the attending maidens will be replaced only at their death. See Timaeus, *ap. Schol. Lycophr.* 1155 (not in Müller, *FHG*): *Τίμαιος ἱστορεῖ ὅτι αἱ παραγενόμεναι παρθέναι ἐδούλευον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς β' οὔσαι, εἰ δέ τις ἀποθάνοι, ἐτέραν παραγίνεσθαι ἀντ' αὐτῆς, ἐκείνην δὲ οὐ θάπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων, ἀλλὰ καίεσθαι ἀγρίοις ξύλοις καὶ τὰ ὁστὰ αὐτῆς ρίπτεσθαι εἰς θάλασσαν.* In Lycophron the interpretation of l. 1160 may be doubtful, though ἄλλαι . . . ταῖς θανουμέναις ἴσαι is better translated 'to fill the place of those that shall die' (A. W. Mair) than 'ihres Todes sicher' (v. Holzinger). But the passage as a whole confirms Timaeus. So the Epitome: *τῶν δὲ πρώτων ἀποθανουσῶν ἄλλας ἐπέμπον.*

The nature of the relation between these three texts need not be discussed.<sup>1</sup> Their common tradition—that is, ultimately, their common source—must have an early origin, if they describe something which certainly did not happen after the revival of the tribute and probably did not happen in the fourth century either. Whether the lines quoted by Plutarch belong to a cyclic poet or not, it seems to me very likely that the common lore of the three texts just quoted derives from a cyclic poem. This source must have spoken of a lifelong service of the maidens. It may also have said that the number of the maidens serving at the same time was limited to two: in other words, that there was no annual tribute. But the non-annual nature of the tribute may be the (reasonable) inference drawn by an early Hellenistic writer from the simple allusion to a lifelong service. What matters to us is that our three texts combine lifelong service and non-annual tribute, two unreal things for the third century, two unlikely things for the fourth century.

### V

Alert men such as Timaeus and Lycophron would have noticed the difference between their source (or what they read into their source) and the proclamation of the Delphic oracle, reinforced as it was by the authority of a mighty king, if it had been the rule in their own time that two maidens were required annually to serve for one year. The practice of the fourth century they might easily overlook; but the contemporary version of an old custom, supported by high authorities, they were not likely to disregard while noticing the references to it in earlier literature. Lycophron

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for instance H. Gasse, *De Lycophrone mythographo*, diss. Leipzig, 1910, 46, and Ziegler, *P-W*, s.v. 'Lycophron', 2336.

especially would have been guilty of an absurdity in depriving Cassandra of the faculty of foreseeing what was happening in his own time. Furthermore, it would have been essential for Lycophron to say that the tribute had been discontinued, but the god compelled the Locrians to resume it. I cannot believe that in a point so relevant to his own subject Lycophron followed his source blindly and forgot or ignored that the oracle and King Antigonus had enforced their word.

How Timaeus and Lycophron would have reacted to the discrepancy, if they had known it, it is idle to conjecture; but Timaeus did not dislike polemical remarks and Lycophron was fond of precise prophecies on recent times. They both missed an opportunity. They had good cause. The appropriate period for their literary activity is in the gap between the suspension of the tribute and its revival. The facts of the tribute which we know to have been paid in the fourth century were fading into the past and, *qua* facts, were perhaps not entirely unambiguous: we can hardly imagine the Locrians of the first part of the fourth century to have been constantly zealous in the dispatch of their daughters. An earlier poet was directly or indirectly a much more authoritative (and easily available) source for mythographers. This situation changed when Delphi and King Antigonus succeeded in reviving the tribute. Their intervention made it clear that the correct interpretation of the oracle was different from that prevailing in older accounts of it, and created the new reality of the revival of the custom. What had been the inconspicuous end of an old custom was transformed into a very conspicuous offence against the gods.

## VI

In the interpretation of the evidence here suggested there is room only for one Antigonus—Antigonus Gonatas. And there is room only for one date of Lycophron's *Alexandra*: the early third century.<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz took both points for granted. As often, he was intuitively right.

In other words, the Locrian maidens offer an argument independent of political and literary considerations that the *Alexandra* does not belong to the early second century B.C. To those whom Niebuhr, Beloch, and Ziegler left cold the present note will be entirely superfluous. On the other hand, those who are very firm believers in the second-century date will not find the argument here offered to be strong enough to shake their conviction. But those who have suspended their assent may find it interesting that the *Alexandra* describes the tribute of the Locrians in a way yet unaffected by the revival of the third century—as we should expect from a poem earlier than the first Punic War.

For the rest, the present writer admits that neither has he any theory on the origin of the tribute<sup>2</sup> nor can he suggest a precise date within the reign of Antigonus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my paper in *Journ. Rom. Stud.* xxxii, 1942, 53 (with bibliography). *Contra* F. W. Walbank, *CQ*, xxxvi, 1942, 145, and xxxvii, 1943, 10. Cf. also M. Holleaux, *CAH*, viii, 1930, 238: 'the supremacy of Rome by land and sea . . . already sung by the poet Lycophron on the morrow of Cynoscephalae.'

<sup>2</sup> I shelter my scepticism about the importance of the Locrian tribute for the Homeric question behind Wilamowitz's vigorous pages in *Die Ilias und Homer*, 379 ff., which are accepted by M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, 1933, 46, and *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, i, 1941, 600, n. 4 (cf. also H. W. Parke, *A History of the Delphic Oracle*, 1939, 331). But the matter is not clear.

Far-reaching theories in A. Brückner *ap.* W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, ii. 554; J. Vürtheim,

*De Aiakis origine*; W. Leaf, *Troy* quoted; P. Corssen, *Sokrates*, i, 1913, 188, 235; A. J. Reinach, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Relig.* lxix, 1914, 12; M. Valetton, *Mnemosyne*, xl, 1912, 20-2; O. Gruppe, *Bursians Jahresh.* clxxxvi, 1921, 344; L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 1921, 294; E. Kalinka, *Arch. f. Religionsw.* xxi, 1922, 42; W. A. Oldfather, *Phil. Quart.* iii, 1924, 5 (cf. P-W, s.v. 'Lokris', 1186); E. Bethe, *Homer*, iii, 1927, 128.—The attempt to find the Locrian maidens on fourth-century vases by F. Hauser, *Jahresh. Österr. Inst.* xv, 1912, 168, is refuted by V. Macchioro, *Neapolis*, ii, 1914, 254, and C. Robert, *Archäol. Hermeneutik*, 1919, 371 (cf. Wilamowitz, *Il. u. Hom.* 383, n. 1). Other bibliography in L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque*, 1926, 521.

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Gonatas for its revival—though a guess in the complex game between the Aetolian League, eastern Locris, and Macedonia<sup>1</sup> would be less dangerous, if perhaps less amusing, than a plunge into the strata of Troy.

## APPENDIX

I agree with H. Swoboda (Hermann's *Lehrbuch*, i. 3<sup>6</sup>, 1913, p. 448, and, especially, *Sitz. Wien. Ak.* cxcix, 1924, 52) that the 'Mädcheninschrift' seems to presuppose an independent or largely autonomous *koinon* of the eastern Locrians. That alone, incidentally, makes it hard to give a share to the western Locrians who had been *effectively* absorbed by the Aetolian League before 290 B.C. But it does not follow that the inscription must be earlier than the Boeotian annexation of Opus in 272 B.C., as Beloch argues, *Gr. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup> iv. 2. 431. Epicnemidian Locris remained free until c. 266 B.C. (R. Flacelière, *Les Aitolien à Delphes*, 1937, 198), passed under a juridically obscure dependence on Phocis for a few years, and was absorbed by Aetolia about 262 (Flacelière, *ib.*; G. Klaffenbach, *Klio*, xx, 1926, 76). The history of the later decades leaves much free room for conjecture, especially in the years c. 258–248 and c. 236. The fact that Aetolia retained the vote of the Epicnemidian Locrians throughout these years does not necessarily imply continuous *effective* rule: 'the vote was her method of perpetuating her claim to lost territory' (W. W. Tarn, *CAH*, vii. 745). On the history of Opus cf. also G. Klaffenbach, *Klio*, xxxii, 1939, 193, n. 2 and M. Feyel, *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère*, 1942, 265, n. 4, and *passim*.

Wilhelm's date (c. 270–240) was determined on palaeographical grounds. Some of the Delphian inscriptions which he found to be very similar to our inscription have now received a later date. So *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 2, n. 74 now dated by Flacelière (1937) as 225–224? (instead of 250–245) and by Dinsmoor (1939) 219–218?; *Fouilles*, iii. 2. 72, now by Flacelière 269–268? and by Dinsmoor 274–273? (instead of 277–276). On the other hand, the archon Orestas of *Fouilles*, iii. 1. 296 (= *BCH*, xx, 1896, 583)—an inscription which Wilhelm declared to be 'sehr ähnlich' to the 'Mädcheninschrift'—has been moved from 255 to c. 270 and even 289–288? Pending Klaffenbach's new edition in *IG*, ix<sup>2</sup>, I feel it is wise to consider Wilhelm's chronological limits as extended both above and below, but not as radically changed.

ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO.

OXFORD.

<sup>1</sup> The obscurity of the date of the 'Mädcheninschrift' is reflected in the uncertainty of the date of Antigonos' arbitration, but one remembers that about 271 B.C. Antigonos Gonatas became very influential in the neighbouring Euboea (R. Flacelière, *Les Aitolien à Delphes*, 1937, 193). It may be added (Mr. Last's suggestion) that 'Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεύς' means Antigonos Gonatas also in Aelian, *VH* 2. 20 (cf. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 256, n. 122) and 9. 26. W. A. Oldfather, P.-W., s.v. 'Naryka', prefers Antigonos Monophthalmus. The identification with Antigonos Monophthalmus seems to me improbable also for another reason. King Antigonos' arbitration, in its present form, is better explained if Ilium did not belong to his sphere—that is, if Antigonos is Antigonos Gonatas. If the king had been directly concerned with the city, one would expect Antigonos to arbitrate between Ilium and the Locrian cities or else another more impartial arbitrator to be chosen by the Locrians. It is

remarkable that Ilium did not play any active part in the affair of the arbitration.

[But it is a point that I owe to Dr. F. Jacoby that Ilium must have taken some step when the Locrians discontinued their tribute c. 346 B.C. And I am prepared to follow Dr. Jacoby in his further suggestion that, as soon as the tribute was discontinued, there must have been an appeal from the temple of Athena to Delphi and a reply by Delphi, the latter being probably identical with the first oracle of Aelian's story (δ' Ἀπέλλων φησὶ κτλ.). I hope that Dr. Jacoby will himself develop his interesting point.]

J. Davreux, *La légende de la prophétesse Cassandre d'après les textes et les monuments*, 'Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres... de Liège', fasc. 94, 1942, and J. Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (281–31), Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1942, are not yet available to me. Perret's theory is summarized in *Journal des Savants*, 1943, 118.

# “ΟΝΟΣ: “ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ

In my translation of the *Historia Animalium*, now thirty-five years old, I pointed out a couple of passages where *ἄνθρωπος* stood in the text though *ὄνος* seemed to be the appropriate word. It had not occurred to me for the moment, though it soon afterwards did, that *ἄνος* was at hand to account for so curious a misreading. The same contraction has other misreadings to account for, as we may read in Cobet; but I do not know that this one has been drawn attention to.

In *HA* 488<sup>a</sup>27, where animals are divided into the wild and the tame, some are said to be tame at all times, *ὅλον ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὄρεός*, others at all times savage, as the leopard and the wolf. To put man and mule on a par with one another, and contrast them with wolf and leopard, makes awkward reading; but the ass and the mule make a natural pair. *ἄνθρωπος* occurs in all the manuscripts; Bekker accepts it without question, but Dittmeyer stigmatizes it and suggests *γῖνος*. I suggested *ὄνος καὶ ἵππος*, imagining that *ἄνθρωπος* might cover and conceal both of these words; now I think that *ὅλον ὄνος* is the true reading, and is supported both by the sense and by palaeography. I do not deny that there is something to be said for retaining *ἄνθρωπος*. Man is the readiest illustration and most natural standard of comparison; for, as Aristotle himself tells us: *ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῶν ζῴων γνωριμώτατον ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐστίν*. Nevertheless, where *ὄνος* seems manifestly the better and more appropriate word, and with *ἄνος* at hand to account for the corruption, I would emend the text with very little hesitation.

On the same page we are told that, whatsoever race of animals be found domesticated, the same is also to be found in a wild condition, *ὅλον ἵπποι, βόες, ὄες [ἄνθρωποι], πρόβατα, αἰγες, κύνες*. Here the ass is conspicuous by his absence, and the parenthetic allusion to mankind, between swine and sheep, is out of place and keeping. PC<sup>a</sup>D<sup>a</sup> all read *ἄνθρωποι*, but Bekker omits it; Piccolos substitutes *ὄνοι*, and I add the palaeographic argument to his conjecture.

There are parallel, or at least similar, passages to this last in *PA* 643<sup>b</sup>5 and *Pr.* 895<sup>b</sup>23, and in both of these the ass is unmentioned, and the text reads *ἄνθρωποι*. One might say that these passages support one another and confirm *ἄνθρωποι*, but that is not the whole story. The passage in the *De Partibus* runs: *ὅσα ἡμερα καὶ ἄγρια τυγχάνει ὄντα, ὅλον ἄνθρωποι, ἵπποι, βόες, κύνες ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ*. Here, if we read *ὄνοι*, the word drops into its appropriate place beside *ἵπποι*; if, on the other hand, we retain *ἄνθρωποι*, we have Aristotle referring in the most cursory and perfunctory fashion to the existence, somewhere or other, of ‘wild’, savage, or uncivilized men, as though that were of no more importance than the existence of wild dogs in India. The fact is that every supposed allusion on Aristotle’s part to ‘wild men’ occurs in a more or less doubtful passage; while elsewhere he says in the plainest words that man is a civilized being, always and everywhere. We read, for instance, in *Top.* 130<sup>a</sup>27 *εἴη ἂν καλῶς κείμενον κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἴδιον τὸ ζῶον ἡμερον φύσει*. And again, in *Pol.* 1256<sup>b</sup>, where all animals both wild and tame are said to be predestined in their several ways to the service of man, there is never a word about man’s sharing with them the attributes of savagery and domesticity.

On the very next page I suspect, but am less sure of, the same confusion. Here Aristotle is speaking (*HA* 489<sup>a</sup>35) of viviparous and oviparous animals: *ζωοτόκα μὲν, ὅλον ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἵππος καὶ φώκη, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔχει τρίχας, καὶ τῶν ἐνύδρων τὰ κητώδη, κτλ.* Here *ἄνθρωπος* is by no means an impossible reading, but *ὄνος* would meet the case as well and better; it would take its proper place beside the horse, and find its appropriate category among *ὅσα ἔχει τρίχας*.

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There is another dubious passage in the *Historia Animalium*, hard by our first (488<sup>a</sup>4), where Aristotle is talking of gregarious creatures, among birds such as the pigeon, the crane, and the swan, and among fishes such as the tunny, pelamyd, and bonito; the text goes on to say that *ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος ἐπαμφοτερίζει*. The remark would seem otiose even if it were true; but it is contradicted in the very next sentence; for here we are told that man is both gregarious and also social, not only *ἀγελαῖον* but also *πολιτικόν*, the very opposite of ‘solitary’. Once more I am inclined to read *ὄνος* for *ἄνθρωπος*; but this time Aristotle is speaking of fish, and *ὄνος* is the fish so called. It is usually identified with the hake (Ital. *asello*, MG. *γάδος*, *γαϊδόψαρον*, from *γαῖδαρος* a donkey), a near relation of the cod; and the hake is a gregarious and a migratory fish, though not to the same obvious extent as the tunny, the mackerel, or the herring. It so happens that we are told in an Aristotelian fragment (Fr. 326 (Rose)) that the fish *ὄνος* is not gregarious: *οὐ συναγελαστικός . . . μονότροπος . . . σὺν ἄλλοις βιοῦν οὐκ ἀνέχεται*. This is certainly not descriptive of the hake; and the explanation appears to be (of this and of *ἐπαμφοτερίζει*) that several different fishes are called *ὄνος* or *ὄνισκος*, as Coray tells us (ad Xenocr., p. 48).

Still keeping to the same two pages of the *Historia Animalium*, we come on a similar but not identical difficulty. When Aristotle goes on to talk of ‘social’ animals, and declares (488<sup>a</sup>9) that these ‘specialize’, or practise division of labour—*οὐ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἀγελαῖα*, he apparently includes man among his instances of these: *ἐστὶ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπος, μέλιττα, σφήξ, μύρμηξ, γέρανος*. Now man is indeed a social animal, and practises division of labour like the rest; but it is obvious that insects are Aristotle’s stock exemplars, and the parallel passages refer to insects alone. Thus, talking of industrious creatures (622<sup>b</sup>20), Aristotle draws all his illustrations from the insect tribe: *τό τε τῶν μυρμηκῶν γένος, καὶ τὸ τῶν μελιττῶν, ἔτι δ’ ἀνθρώποι καὶ σφήκες καὶ πάνθ’ ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ συγγενῇ τούτοις*. Then on the next page we have a list of six ‘social’ insects, *ἕξ ἀγελαῖα*, and these are: *μέλιττα, βασιλεῖς τῶν μελιττῶν, κήφην ὁ ἐν ταῖς μελίτταις, σφήξ ὁ ἐπέτειος, ἔτι δ’ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τευρηδῶν*. Again, in 531<sup>b</sup>23, the list runs as follows: *ὅλον ἐπὶ μελίττη καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ σφηκὶ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις*. Observe now that *ἀνθρώπῳ* occurs in all of these last three lists, but is absent from the one in which *ἄνθρωπος* occurs; nor is man mentioned, as he well might be, in the clause where gregarious creatures are divided into those which follow a leader and those where every one is his own master. In short, I do not see any place for man in this whole discussion, and I think we should read *ἀνθρώπῳ* for *ἄνθρωπος* in 488<sup>a</sup>9.

It will be observed that four of the five instances where I believe *ἄνθρωπος* to have slipped into the text in place of *ὄνος*, as well as one where I think it has taken the place of *ἀνθρώπῳ*, all occur on two consecutive pages of the *Historia Animalium*.

D’ARCY W. THOMPSON.

ST. ANDREWS.



## FALSE STATEMENT IN PLATO'S *SOPHIST*

PLATO's examination of False Statement (*Sophist* 259 D–263 D) is, like many of his discussions in the later dialogues, a mixture of complete lucidity with extreme obscurity. Any English student who seeks to understand it will of course turn first to Professor Cornford's translation and commentary<sup>1</sup>; and if he next reads what M. Diès has to say in the Introduction to his Budé edition of the *Sophist* he will, I think, have sufficient acquaintance with the views of modern Platonic scholars on the subject. For myself, at least, I have not gained any further understanding from other writers than these two.

Cornford's thoroughgoing discussion reaches a solution which, as might be expected, is acute and ingenious. Yet I think it will have left many readers unconvinced, because it seems to read too much between Plato's lines. He is perhaps himself not wholly convinced that he has discovered his author's meaning, when he writes: 'It is certainly surprising that Plato should be content with a statement of his solution so brief and ambiguous. Presumably the fact that Forms are involved and the relevance of all the earlier discussion of their combination was so clear to his mind that he took the reader's understanding of these points for granted.'<sup>2</sup>

Now Cornford is, I think, undoubtedly right in assuming that 'Forms are involved' in some way or other, and that the earlier discussion (251 C–259 D) of their *κοινωνία* is in some way relevant to the problem. Where I think he is wrong is, first, in supposing that *μέθεξις*<sup>3</sup> has anything to do with the matter. Plato, he holds, intends us to explain the meaning of the true statement 'Theaetetus sits', and equally that of the false statement 'Theaetetus flies', by reference to Forms of Sitting and Flying, in which the particular posture of Theaetetus partakes; the purpose of this reference to *μέθεξις* being to overcome the Sophist's objection that, in the case of the latter proposition, there is no existing fact to which it corresponds, so that it is meaningless, a mere utterance of words 'signifying nothing'. 'Only by thus using the theory of Forms can Plato meet the Sophist's objection that false statement cannot exist because there is nothing for it to mean.'<sup>4</sup>

I cannot believe that the vital point, namely the distinction between correspondence to fact and meaning (explained as *μέθεξις* in a Form), could have been left unmentioned, and indeed not so much as hinted at. This difficulty is of course felt by Cornford, who seeks to find a hint of the distinction in the admittedly obscure passage 263 B, more especially in the words *ὄντων δέ γε ὄντα ἕτερα περὶ σοῦ*. I cannot accept his actual translation of this sentence, but before I say what I think it means it will be as well to state what aspect of the theory of Forms seems to me in fact relevant.

It is simply the ubiquity of the Forms of Being, Sameness, and, above all, Difference, a ubiquity which was established as one of the results of the examination of the *μέγιστα γένη*. As it is put at 256 D, *ἔστιν ἄρα ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ μὴ ὂν ἐπὶ τε κινήσεως εἶναι καὶ κατὰ πάντα τὰ γένη· κατὰ πάντα γὰρ ἢ θατέρου φύσεως ἕτερον ἀπεργαζομένη τοῦ ὄντος ἕκαστον οὐκ ὂν ποιεῖ*. This is recalled at 260 B, but at 260 D it is said that the Sophist will nevertheless probably maintain that Statement and Judgement (*λόγος* and *δόξα*) do not 'partake of τὸ μὴ ὂν'.

<sup>1</sup> *Plato's Theory of Knowledge*, pp. 298–317.

<sup>2</sup> *PTK*, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> By *μέθεξις* here I mean the participation of a particular in its own Form, as of *τοῦτο τὸ καλόν* in the *εἶδος τοῦ καλοῦ*, or of the seated posture of Theaetetus in the *εἶδος τοῦ καθήσθαι*,

the universal 'Sitting'. No doubt *μέθεξις* in another sense, viz. that in which all Forms, and therewith their particulars, participate in the all-pervading *εἶδη* or *γένη* of *ὄν*, *ταυτόν*, and *θάτερον*, is involved.

<sup>4</sup> *PTK*, p. 315.

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The meaning of this is doubtless that the existence of Falsity is not covered by the previous demonstration. What we have hitherto been dealing with is negative predication; we have proved, against Parmenides, that there is a sense in which τὸ μὴ ὄν exists, by distinguishing between sheer non-existence and negative determination of a thing; but we have not proved, against the sophistry of Euthydemus and the bad logic of Antisthenes, that τὸ μὴ ὄν in the sense of the false can exist, in other words, that false statements and judgements can have any meaning.<sup>1</sup> The connexion between the two problems lies not only in the fact that language uses the same expressions—εἶναι with a negative, οὐκ ἔστι, οὐκ ὄντα, τὸ μὴ ὄν—in both references, but also in the solution which Plato proposes to give: here, as there, the solution is to be found in the concept or, as he would say, the Form of Otherness (Difference). It will have to be shown, against the Sophist's contention at 260 D, that λόγος and δόξα μετέχει τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, and this μὴ ὄν will turn out, like the other, to be θάτερον.

Cornford has explained most clearly the origin of this problem. It arises from the common-sense view that a true statement is one that corresponds to objective fact. How then, asked Eristic Sophists eristically, and Antisthenes (we may believe) in genuine perplexity, can a false statement be possible? That is to say, how can any statement which does not correspond to objective fact have any meaning? To correspond to nothing is to mean nothing.

Now the essence of Cornford's reading of the solution is that Plato tells us, or at least means to tell us, that *meaning* is not the same thing as correspondence to objective fact. What is *meant* by the verb in the proposition 'Theaetetus flies' is the Form 'Flying'; that there is no objective fact to which 'flies' corresponds is immaterial: since 'flies' has a meaning, the proposition 'Theaetetus flies' also has a meaning, and the Sophist's problem, or poser, is disposed of.

But would the Sophist agree that he is really answered by this? I do not think so: he might well object that it is illegitimate to argue that, because the two components may each be said to have a meaning (he would not dispute that the word Theaetetus means the man so called), therefore the complex has a meaning. To admit that, he would contend, would involve allowing a meaning to obviously meaningless conjunctions of noun and verb, like 'Books drink' or 'Boots love'. The type of solution which he might be expected to accept would be one which showed that false statement or judgement consists, not in non-correspondence of a *unit* of speech or thought to a *unit* of objective fact, but in a wrong uniting or tying together<sup>2</sup> of two entities each of which he would admit to be real.

The main purpose of Plato's careful analysis of the proposition into ὄνομα and ῥήμα is to make us see that the Sophist's paradox rests on the assumption that the λόγος, whether true or false, is a unit.

When I say 'Theaetetus flies' I am uniting in speech two entities which are both real (for there is such a man as Theaetetus, and there is such an act as flying), but which in reality are disjoined. As the stranger puts it at 263 B, I am asserting about T. something different from what *is* about T. What 'is about T.' means what is in reality conjoined with T.; and my false statement asserts what is different from that, namely what is in reality disjoined from T.

<sup>1</sup> It has, however, been indicated earlier (240 C–241 B) that this problem will have to be dealt with; it is there left hanging.

<sup>2</sup> διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀλλήλων τῶν εἰδῶν συμπλοκὴν ὁ λόγος γέγονεν ἡμῖν, 259 E. If we compare this with the use of συμπλοκή at 262 C, and with συμπλέκων τὰ ῥήματα τοῖς ὀνόμασι at 262 D, I think that εἰδῶν must mean what we call 'parts

of speech'. The weaving together of the εἰδη that constitutes a λόγος cannot be the same as the κοινωνία εἰδῶν or γενῶν which has been hitherto discussed, and it is by what almost amounts to a play upon words that the Stranger effects the transition from the 'blending' or 'communion' of kinds to the weaving of ῥήματα with ὀνόματα.

I see no reason why the Sophist should not accept this solution, which in point of fact is just that which Aristotle expresses more simply and clearly than Plato in *Metaphysics* Θ 10. Except in the case of τὰ ἀσύνθετα (and Ar.'s difficult doctrine as to these does not concern us), truth means the uniting or disjoining, in proposition and judgement, of what is objectively united or disjoined, falsity the uniting of what is objectively disjoined or the disjoining of what is objectively united: ἀληθεύει μὲν ὁ τὸ δηρημένον οἰόμενος διηρηθῆναι καὶ τὸ συγκείμενον συγκείσθαι, ἔψευσται δὲ ὁ ἐναντίως ἔχων ἢ τὰ πράγματα (1051<sup>b</sup>3).

I must now substantiate this interpretation by reference to the text of the vital passage, 263 B 4-12. The real difficulty lies in the Stranger's last speech here; and the translation I give is Cornford's save for this last speech:

*Stranger.* The false statement states about you things different from the things that are.

*Theaet.* Yes.

*Str.* And accordingly states things that are not as being.

*Theaet.* No doubt.

*Str.* Yes, but these things, while different from those that are about you, are said *about you*. For we said that in the case of each thing there is much that is not, as well as much that is.<sup>1</sup>

The words ὄντων δὲ γε ὄντα ἕτερα περὶ σοῦ are so obscure as almost to preclude literal translation. But clearly their meaning must be determined by those that immediately follow in the last sentence here translated. Plato's point, as I understand it, is that the ῥῆμα of any λόγος, whether true or false, expresses something that *is*, and asserts it *about* a subject; that which is truly asserted may be positive ( $x$  is  $A, B, C$ ) or negative ( $x$  is not  $D, E, F$ ). Now  $D$  is something said about  $x$ , but something different from what *is* about  $x$ . Hence the false statement  $x$  is  $D$  substitutes one of the negative determinations of  $x$  for one of the positive: it treats the δηρημένα as though they were συγκείμενα. The Greek might be (uncouthly) expanded thus: λέγει δὲ περὶ σοῦ τινα ἂ ἕτερα ἔστι τῶν περὶ σοῦ ὄντων, the enclitic ἔστι being of course unemphatic (as I take ὄντα to be in the text) and ὄντων being emphatic. And this is restated in the final account of λόγος ψευδής at 263 D: false statement is 'a statement about you, but one which involves taking what is different (sc. from what *is* about you) as the same (sc. as what *is* about you), what is not as what *is*'.

The interpretation I have offered is, I believe, in agreement with the comment of M. Diès. I have, in fact, read Plato's text in the light of his remarks, and attempted to expand and interpret more fully and precisely what I take to be meant by what he says on p. 283 of the Budé edition:

'On insiste ici sur ce que la proposition ne dit pas seulement ce qui est ou se fait, pas plus qu'elle ne se borne à nommer la chose ou le sujet. Le sujet et le prédicat sont chacun partie et condition essentielle de la proposition. Il ne peut y avoir vérité ou fausseté que là où il y a affirmation de l'être, d'action ou d'inaction d'un sujet déterminé. . . .

'Ainsi la proposition est fausse quand elle affirme d'un sujet ce qui n'est point de lui. C'est bien toujours de l'être qu'elle exprime. Elle exprime ce qui est, mais autrement qu'il n'est pour le sujet donné: elle dit être, de lui, ce qui n'est pas, et, ne pas être, ce qui est.'

Whether I have read between these lines what cannot be found there must be for others to judge.

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<sup>1</sup> Cornford's translation of the last speech is 'Yes, but things that *exist*, different from things that *exist* in your case. For we said that in the

case of everything there are many things that are and also many that are not.'

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## ΤΕΡΘΡΕΙΑ

THE word *τερθρεία*, which L. and S.<sup>8</sup> derived (following Moeris) from *τεπαρεία* and translated 'the use of claptraps', is perhaps best known from its occurrence in Isocrates (*Helen*, § 4), but the new edition has spread the net more widely, citing Philo, Philodemus, Proclus, Galen, Dion. Hal., and giving its meaning as 'the use of extreme subtlety, hair-splitting, formal pedantry'. This agrees better with the gloss *κενοσπουδία* attributed to Orus of Miletus in *Et. Mag.* 753. 4. Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Plutarch each use *τερθρεύομαι* once. In the *Helen* Isocrates, condemning the futile ingenuity of the Sophists in writing *encomia* on such unworthy objects as salt and humble-bees, holds that such *tours de force* are immoral, as (i) tending to deceive, (ii) representing a literary form of the vice *περιεργία*. *Τερθρεία*, then, should take its place, as a recognized term for the idle over-elaboration of a banausic theme, in the vocabulary of Greek literary criticism. It does not, however, appear in Rhys Roberts's 'Glossary of Greek Rhetoric' appended to his edition of D.H.'s *On Literary Composition*. No doubt this is because *τερθρεία* does not occur in this or any other of D.H.'s *Scripta Rhetorica*. But D.H. himself uses the word in *Antiq. Rom.* (ii. 19).<sup>1</sup> Similarly J. F. Lockwood does not discuss the term in his lists in *C.Q.* xxxi and xxxii, where he collects words which are used metaphorically by D.H. in literary criticism. The metaphor in *τερθρεία* is certainly not obvious; but the literary sense must have involved some transference of meaning, for it is not to be expected that the word *τερθρεία* sprang, in full panoply of critical significance, from the brain of the Muse of Rhetoric; and it is part of the purpose of this paper to point the way to an explanation, or at least to set forth some known facts about the word and its possible congeners.

The lexicons of Suidas and Photius, supported by the *Et. Mag.*, offer a very different meaning. According to them *τερθρεία* was a name for *ἡ στρατεία ἢ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν καλουμένη*. This phrase occurs only once, in Aeschines, *Παραπρεσβ.* 168. Aeschines answers Demosthenes' unwarranted sneer at his military career, viz. [*Διοχίνης*] αὐτὸς ὢν οἷμαι θαυμάσιος στρατιώτης, ὡς Ζεῦ (*Dem.*, *Παραπρεσβ.* 113), by giving a detailed account of his campaigning. As an Ephebus he had completed his two years of Home Defence as a patrol (*περίπολος*): then came his first taste of real service abroad (*πρώτην ἐξελθὼν στρατείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν καλουμένην*).<sup>2</sup> It was this promotion to the first experience of military service in the field, or some aspect of it, to which the name *τερθρεία* was given. L. and S.<sup>9</sup> records this meaning (which is not in L. and S.<sup>8</sup>) under *τερθρεία* II, but does not attempt to bridge the semasiological gulf between the two usages. Nor do I know of an attempt anywhere to explain *τερθρεία* II.

<sup>1</sup> The Romans (he says), whenever they adopted a foreign cult, nevertheless 'Romanized' the ritual and soberly avoided all barbaric excess in ceremony. Such exotic elaborations of liturgy are described in detail (one word used is *τεράτευμα*, which may have lent some countenance to L. and S.'s etymology) and summed up in the phrase *τερθρεία μυθική*.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know to what *μέρεσι* refers, but Suidas' naïve suggestion cannot be right, viz. *ἐν μέρεσιν τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις τῆς μάχης*. Aeschines would not refer proudly to a promotion to a sheltered post but rather to something involving what we describe by the cliché 'baptism of fire',

cf. Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 156-7, *bellique propinqui | dura rudimenta* and my note in *C.R.* xlvii. 6.

I am grateful to Dr. H. W. Parke for the following note: '*ἡ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν στρατεία*, to which *τερθρεία* is equated, occurs only in Aeschines, ii. 168. It appears there to be used in contrast to *ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις*, i.e. a calling up by year classes. Hence it must be taken that *τερθρεία* in a military sense meant some mobilization by selected units, and may imply some special qualification in those who served thus. This emphasis would suit the context in Aeschines. Cf. Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, p. 47.'



A third field of significance is afforded by the words *τέρθρον*, 'the end of a sail-yard', and *τέρθριος*, 'the rope from the end of a sail-yard'. At last we have, for these words, a clear etymology—*vter*, cf. *τέρμα*, *ter-minus*, etc., 'end'. Our feet are here on solid ground; and we can now distinguish between those explanations of *τερθρεία* I which refer that word to *τέρθρον* and those which find for it an alien origin. Most scholars have looked elsewhere. Boisacq follows Brugmann in seeing in *τερθρεία*, i.e. *τερ-θρ-εία*, a reduplication of a root *dher* which appears, reduplicated with dissimilation, in *τονθρύς* ('voice'), *τονθορίζω* ('mumble'), simply in *θόρυβος*, etc., and, with enlargement to *dhrey-*, in *θρέομαι* ('shriek'), *θρόος*, *θροέω*. L. Meyer associated the word with *τενθρηδών* ('wasp'). L. and S.'s *τεπατεία* has been mentioned. On the other side, Prellwitz, under *τέρθρον*, adds: '*τερθρεία* Spitzfindigkeit, *τερθρεύομαι* spitzfindig reden, täuschen'. Wharton made the connexion differently—'*τερθρεία* jugglery: *τέρθρον* yard-arm, "high-flying".'

But no account has been taken of *τερθρεία* II in these speculations. I suggest that in it we may be able to find a *via media* between *τέρθρον* and *τερθρεία* I. Other things being equal, I should suppose that to derive *τερθρεία* (I and II) from an already existing homophonic word in Greek, viz. from *τέρθρον* (or rather, more immediately, from *τέρθριος*), is preferable, both practically and aesthetically, to seeking its origin elsewhere and admitting that it is pure coincidence that two, or perhaps even three, mutually irrelevant phonetic processes in Greek both, or all, resulted in the one complex phoneme *τερθρ-*. But I do not stress this point, as it raises far-reaching abstract problems of mathematical probability in linguistics, as well as suggesting another question, the propriety of allowing a place to the feelings in dealing with an investigation in the science of language. It happens, however, that Hesychius has preserved two derivatives from *τέρθρον*, namely *τερθρωτήρ*, 'the part of a ship from which the *πρωρεύς* kept a look-out', and *τερθρηδών* *πρωρεύς*. At first this suggests that the *proreta* had two duties. (1) From his position forward, sometimes on a little deck or forecastle in the bows,<sup>1</sup> he kept a look out.<sup>2</sup> Usually this station was much higher than the general level of the gunwales.<sup>3</sup> (2) But his other name *τερθρηδών* points to a second duty, that of attending to the *τέρθριοι*. These may have been used for reefing (at least so L. and S.<sup>4</sup>: Torr, unfortunately, does not discuss *τέρθρον* and *τέρθριος*) and would, like the *πρότοινοι* or fore-stays of the mast, extend forward. But the *τέρθριοι* cannot have been the chief instruments for manipulating the sails, for the following reasons—we do not hear of them often; there were several other much commoner and specialized words, viz. *πόδες*, *ὑπέραι*, *κάλω*, i.e. 'sheets', 'braces', 'brailling-ropes':<sup>4</sup> the position of the *πρωρεύς* would not be convenient for such operations, nor would it be proper for the look-out's attention to be taken off his watch; and it seems likely that the simultaneous co-operation of several sailors would be required for the task. It may, then, be concluded that the duty (if any) of the

<sup>1</sup> These points in naval architecture are fully discussed and illustrated in Torr's *Ancient Ships*, pp. 56-60.

<sup>2</sup> This is always the duty mentioned, e.g. Theodore, *De Prov.* vii (Migne, lxxiii. 676 B), *τὸν δὲ πρωρεῖα σκοπέλους καὶ βράχη καὶ σπιδάδας περισκοποῦντα καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ μνησκόντα*, cf. Xen. *Oec.* viii. 14; Plut. *Agis*, i.

<sup>3</sup> See the plates at the end of Torr's book and my note on *cumba adunca* and 'hooked beaks' in *Hermathena*, lv, pp. 90-3. Incidentally, the name *πρωρεύς* for the 'look-out' proves that the ancient ship was not equipped with any observation post similar to our 'crow's-nest' high up the

mast or in the rigging. But sailors did climb aloft (to attend to the sails), e.g. Aristotle, *Eud. Eth.* iii. 1230<sup>a</sup>28, *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦς ἰστροῦς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπιστάμενοι*; Cicero, *de Senect.* vi. 17, *alii malos scandant*; Ovid, *Met.* iii. 615-16, *quo non alius conscendere summas | ocior antennas*.

<sup>4</sup> In the inventories of the Athenian dockyards these (*κάλω* appearing as *καλώδια*) are frequently named, together with *ἱμάντες*, *ἀγκοῖνα*, *χαλινός*, i.e. 'halyards', 'the ? fore-stay', 'the ? back-stay', as the six sorts of rope included in the general term *τοπίαι* (Torr, op. cit., p. 82).

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*πρωρεύς* implied by the title *τερθρηδών* was of considerably less importance than his function as 'look-out': indeed *τερθρηδών* probably has little more than a positional significance.

Cartault ('La Trière athénienne' in *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, xx, 1881) and Kalinka (Pseudo-Xen., *Ἀθ. πολ.*, pp. 95-6) are not in entire accord as to the precedence of rank on board the Athenian ship,<sup>1</sup> but it seems agreed that the *πρωρεύς* was a subordinate officer, inferior in position to the *κυβερνήτης* but superior to an oarsman. A good oarsman, if he were a citizen,<sup>2</sup> could pass on to the higher offices. In the Parabasis of his *Knights* Aristophanes makes a metaphorical use of the naval *cursus honorum*, which begins with the oarsman (vv. 542-4):

ἐρέτην χρῆναι πρῶτα γενέσθαι, πρὶν πηδάλις ἐπιχειρεῖν,  
κῆτ' ἐντεῦθεν πρῶτα τεύσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διαβρῆσαι,  
κῆτα κυβερνᾶν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ.

The editors note that *κῆτ' ἐντεῦθεν πρῶτα τεύσαι* marks the first promotion, *πρὶν πηδάλις ἐπιχειρεῖν* being general. Aristophanes then goes on to sustain, throughout the remainder of the Parabasis, an elaborate parallelism between the citizen service afloat and the citizen service on land, see especially vv. 552-5, 567 (*πεζαῖς μάχαις ἐν τε ναυφάρκῳ στρατῷ*), 578 ff., and the final line 610 (*μήτε γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ*). The parallelism between the 'Services' must have been a commonplace in Athenian life. This suggests that *τερθρεία* II may have owed its origin to an analogy between corresponding stages of naval and military service. If the *πρωρεύς* was known alternatively as *τερθρηδών* (as he was) and his station as *τερθρωτήρ*, then *τερθρεία* may have been a synonym, or described an aspect, of *πρωρατεία*, as the name of his office.<sup>3</sup> Already at an earlier period of Greek the name of the lowest rank on board ship, viz. *ὑπηρέτης* 'under-rower', i.e. 'a member of an organized team of oarsmen',<sup>4</sup> had completely passed, by metaphor, into common currency to connote any underling who rendered due and unquestioning service. The original meaning was forgotten. Thus it came that *ὑπηρέτης*—a word of purely nautical origin—ultimately found at least three quasi-technical uses in the vocabulary of soldiers, (i) 'batman', (ii) 'mercenary soldier', (iii) 'adjutant'. The analogy between the military and naval careers may well have reflected itself in another such transference of terminology, perhaps at first playfully applied.<sup>5</sup> When the young citizen-sailor or -soldier had passed the preliminary stage (that of *ἐρέτης* and *περίπολος* respectively) he reached a higher status (*τερθρεία* II) in his profession which not only brought him into his first full contact with the realities of his service but also required, in each domain of activity, similar qualities. Scouting and reconnaissance in the field demand just those powers of good eyesight and of nimbleness which were needed by the look-out who had exchanged the confined position of the rowers' bench for the perilous pinnacle in the bows.

An examination of the plates in Torr's *Ancient Ships* brings a realization of the difficulties of balance which must have beset the *πρωρεύς* in his station forward. Here the pitching movement of the vessel is at its maximum: no shelter from the wind and spray; in front and at the sides a sheer drop to the sea below; and behind, the

<sup>1</sup> See also R. A. Neil on Aristophanes, *Knights*, vv. 542-4; and cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 1014.

<sup>2</sup> In the naval reforms of Themistocles the 170 oarsmen of a trireme were composed partly of hired foreigners and slaves and partly of citizens (Bury, *Hist. of Gee.*, p. 332). Cf. [Xen.], *Ἀθ. πολ.* 1. 2, *ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐλαύνων τὰς ναῦς*.

<sup>3</sup> No one would question the right of the word *πρωρατεία* to existence—yet chance has not

vouchsafed an occurrence of it for our lexicons to list. So, too, I suggest, with *τερθρεία*, in its original sense.

<sup>4</sup> See L. J. D. Richardson on *ὑπηρέτης*, *C.Q.* xxxvii. 55-61.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 'crew', originally = 'military reinforcements' (*cresco*), then extended to mean 'any company of men', now most often nautical.

downward slope to the deck. If *τερθρεία* I owes its origin to a nautical metaphor,<sup>1</sup> we have in the position of the *τερθρηδών* all the elements to suggest the transferred picture. The clever balance, the sharp look out in all directions for objects however small, the precarious foothold, the general jugglery (to use Wharton's word) of equipoise which are associated with the operations of the *πρωρεύς*, these all suggest the *τερθρεία* of the Sophists in the dialectical sphere.

In dealing with a group of words of such rare occurrence and diverse significance it is inevitable that any attempt at a comprehensive explanation must demand the tentative filling up of gaps. The missing link in a semasiological progression is, perhaps, the most unpredictable of all lacunae. If, however, the thread of semantic connexion which I have suggested can be regarded as likely or even possible—and it has the merit of accounting for the intellectually subtle or sophistical implications of *τερθρεία* I, whereas the derivatives of the root *dher* seem not to rise above the connotation of mere physical sound—I shall have achieved as much as can be hoped for in a field where nothing can be proved.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the application to speech of the nautical *ὑποστέλλεσθαι: τοῦ ποδὸς παρίναι, ἀνυπέλλειν*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Yet further confirmation may be found in the accentuation of *τερθρεία*. *Τερθρείᾱ*, with verb *τερθρεύω*, shows that the word does not stand for *\*τερθρεῖα*, with adjective *\*τερθρής*. In other words, it does not belong to an *s*-stem series

of the type *εὐσεβείᾱ—εὐσεβής—εὐσεβέω*, but rather to the type *ιατρειᾱ—ιατρεύω*, from an *o*-stem noun *ιατρός*. *Τερθρείᾱ*, then, looks like being a derivative noun implying a simpler *o*-stem base, viz. *\*τέρθρος* (or, as we find it, *τέρθρον* neuter).

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